The Nation.

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The Week.

THE Supreme Court having taken jurisdiction of the *Sayward* case, the case is now to be argued like any other in which private rights and property are involved. The owner of the *Sayward* complains that his ship was seized in Bering Sea when she was engaged in lawful enterprise fifty-nine miles from any land, and was brought before a District Court of the United States in Alaska acting as a court of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, and that said ship is in danger of being condemned and sold contrary to the right and contrary to the law of nations. Wherefore, he prays that said District Court may be prohibited, etc., etc. The Attorney-General of the United States, we are told in a despatch to the *Tribune*, was taken somewhat by surprise by the action of the Supreme Court. But at the State Department this action "is not giving rise to either apprehension or alarm." On the contrary, Mr. Blaine "commends it most warmly." The telegram goes on to say that Mr. Blaine is "willing to submit to the Supreme Court the whole dispute for *arbitration*, providing he has an opportunity to submit, not simply a single law point, as is done in the present case, where the court is asked to decide the legality of a seizure inside [outside?] the three-mile limit, but the entire question, involving among many other things a definition of the jurisdiction exercised by Russia in Bering Sea and its legality; her power to dispose of such rights, if rights they were; the exact nature of the jurisdiction acquired by the United States, together with all historical and not merely legal lights thrown upon the subject; the undisputed jurisdiction for many years of the United States in that sea, etc."

All this is very droll as touching a lawsuit where a record has been made up, and where issue has been joined, and where a rule has been entered requiring the inferior court to show cause within a certain time why a certain writ should not issue. "If," continues the telegram, "Mr. Blaine had a guarantee that all of these points would be submitted to the court, and, furthermore, that the British Government would agree to bind itself by the decision of such a tribunal, and that it would not, as in the present case, announce unofficially that it will disregard the decision of the court, according as it suits its convenience or not, he would be willing enough to accept the arbitration of the Supreme Court." The public may reasonably ask what practical end is to be gained by Mr. Blaine's willingness to accept arbitration of an impossible kind under impossible circumstances. Of what use is his readiness to turn into the Supreme Court a lot of papers that the court would be obliged to pitch out of the window? This is the last of the many oddities of the Bering Sea case under Mr. Blaine's treatment. Perhaps it means that Mr. Blaine sees a decision looming up that will be very disagreeable to him, and that he wants to prepare the public mind for it by showing that the case was not properly presented. If he wanted real arbitration, why did he not take it when it was offered to him?

The Republican managers in the Senate have served formal notice upon the Democratic leaders in the body that the Force Bill is dead. The admission thus grudgingly made has been extorted from unwilling partisans by the power of public opinion. The Republicans have fourteen majority in the Senate, and thus the numerical ability to pass any measure. The Force Bill was one of the chief issues submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval last November. The Republicans said to the voters, "Go to the polls and say what you think about it; if you elect a House with a Republican majority, the Republican Senators will interpret the result as a vote of confidence in the policy embodied in the Force Bill, and they will then pass it; if you elect a Democratic House, it will be accepted as an expression of lack of confidence, and the Republican Senators will feel inclined to drop the bill." It was a frank appeal by the politicians to their masters, and the masters left no room for doubt as to what their orders meant. The Bourbons among the Republican Senators set out to disregard the popular will, but enough Senators were found who recognized the force of public opinion to defeat the scheme. Great credit is due to those Republican journals which represented this opinion, and thus sustained Republican Senators in carrying it into effect.

The man who emerges from the struggle with most harm to his reputation is Mr. George F. Hoar, who has shown himself ready to sacrifice all the principles which he had maintained as essential even to civil liberty, in order to push through a purely partisan measure. This is a melancholy spectacle for an "old public functionary" to present, the more so that sixteen years ago Mr. Hoar was on the right side when a similar issue arose. He was one of those Republicans who, after the "tidal wave" of 1874, argued and filibustered day after day in the House of Representatives against the Force Bill of that period, and thus, although a minority in the House, held it back until so late in the session that their allies in the Senate could beat it in the latter body. It was a great service to the cause of popular liberty and self-government, and it would have been a happy thing for Mr. Hoar's reputation if his public career had then ended.

We turned with much curiosity to Speaker Reed's article in the new number of the *North American Review*, with the very taking title, "A Deliberative Body," expecting to find some defence or explanation of that now famous ejaculation of his, "Thank God, this is not a deliberative body!"—meaning, as was understood, that the House of Representatives was a body which enacted laws, but did not talk about them. We have been greatly disappointed, however. The article is very much subdued in tone as compared with the Speaker's former one on the same subject—as becomes his altered circumstances—and is very apologetic; but of real explanation or defence there is very little. He pleads that nearly all needful debating of public questions in this country is now done by the newspapers, and that, therefore, parliamentary debating is not so useful or necessary as it once was; that the present Congress got from the majority of the electors a mandate to do what it did, and that therefore the Democratic obstruction was as unnecessary as it was improper. Here is where the hole in his argument occurs, and it is as wide as a church door. We venture to say there has never yet been persistent obstruction by the whole minority in any parliamentary body of the first rank, where the majority was *undeniably* trying to execute a mandate of the electors. No rational person, as Speaker Reed well knows, has deliberately maintained that the McKinley Bill was imbedded in the platform on which the Republicans went to the country in 1888. The subsequent obstruction was offered to an absolutely new scheme, for which there was no precedent in the history of this or any other country, and of which no hint or outline was ever offered to the voters, by any newspaper or orator, during the canvass, and which there was much reason to believe was concocted subsequently to the election by a small clique or junta of which he was a member, in virtue of a bargain with the contributors of campaign funds.

Speaker Reed fails to point out, in his comparison of the House of Representatives to the English House of Commons, the totally different position occupied by the respective Speakers of these bodies. In the present Congress Mr. Reed himself as Speaker occupied, in relation to the McKinley Bill, exactly the position Mr. Gladstone occupied towards the Home-Rule Bill, or Mr. W. H. Smith towards the Irish Coercion Bill—that is, he was charged with its carriage through the House as the leader of his party in the House. When he drew up rules giving himself power to suppress debate, he was really providing himself with the means of squelching his own political opponents. If it were seriously proposed in the House of Commons that the leader of the majority on the floor should have the power to decide which of the mi

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nority was to be allowed to speak and when the minority had talked enough, it would be received with shouts of derision; and yet this is exactly what Speaker Reed's rules did in the House of Representatives. In England the Speaker is a strictly judicial officer, who studiously abstains from all partisan connection with pending measures. Speaker Reed is nothing of the sort. He is a fierce and avowed partisan, and stumped his own State last fall in that character, and took to himself the credit of pushing through the McKinley Bill. To take on himself under these circumstances the task of putting down the minority in defence of a novel and unforeseen measure, was probably one of the most absurd pieces of partisanship ever witnessed. In truth, we can recall nothing like the position he occupied last winter, and still occupies, in the history of parliamentary bodies within the present century, except that occupied by De Morny and Rouher in the French Senate and Corps Législatif respectively, under the Second Empire. Those two officers performed for the Emperor the exact functions which Mr. Reed has been trying to perform for the protected manufacturers.

The appearance of the new Senator from Kansas, as described in the despatches, is rather startling. "A gruffly hoarse but low-toned voice issuing from a sea of long, dark beard flowing nearly to his waist," demanding in the Senate the issue of unlimited money directly by the Government to the people, might well produce a depressing effect on the stock market, and bring American securities home from Europe. But any one who reads the speech he made after his election will readily see that the Judge is by no means a shape of dread. He is apparently one of those extremely active-minded men who always come to the front in revolutionary times, and the times in the West just now are very revolutionary. The rapidity with which he has changed his opinions in the past shows how open he is to conviction, and makes it pretty certain that when brought in contact, in Washington, with new ways of looking at things, and new currents of thought, he will again revise them. He was once, it seems, an ardent Republican; he has now completely repudiated his old party. He was once a strong protectionist; he is now a free-trader. The particular craze which now dominates him is the notion that the Government ought to lend money to all comers at low rates of interest—presumably without security. It may seem odd that a man who has education enough to write books and edit newspapers, should never have sat down and thought out for himself how this system would work in practice, or how money which anybody could have for the asking could retain its efficiency as a measure of the value of other things, which is its sole function. The explanation is to be found, we think, in the tremendous force with which a popular consensus acts on individuals. Hardly any man can resist the pressure on his own mind of the general agreement of all his neighbors in any absurdity, however great. In a community of obstreperous debtors or borrowers, even the most sensible man after a while begins to feel the necessity of giving security for loans to be a piece of monstrous oppression; and the difficulty of getting money at all without selling something, to be the result of some hidden defect in the national system of finance. The extreme form of this phenomenon is to be found in the well-known peril to mental soundness which lies in prolonged attendance on or association with the insane.

Mr. Peffer's defeated competitor, Ingalls, is in the meantime getting that consolation which awaits all charlatans in our day, in the shape of invitations to lecture. This, too, is his time to consider and act promptly on proposals from dime museums. There is a golden moment, in these careers, for purposes of public exhibition which, once gone, never returns. Mr. Ingalls, indeed, carries with him into his retirement the proud consciousness that he is a male. Of this character no legislature can deprive him. The "Epicenes" whom he has so often held up to scorn, may now laugh at him, but they cannot deprive him, even in this hour of adversity, of his sex. History will record that he was the most distinguished male, *quâ* male, in the United States Senate towards the close of the first century of the national existence. Now that he has been beaten, Republican newspapers are very frank in declaring that he is an arrant demagogue who ought to have been beaten. But he is no worse demagogue to-day than he had shown himself to be over and over again during the last few years; and yet during these years the Republican Senators twice conferred upon him the highest honor in their gift by making him President of the Senate, and Republican organs had no word of protest to utter.

The Omaha Farmers' Alliance resolved among other things on January 28, "that the volume of the currency be increased to $50 per capita," and then at the same time "demanded" that paper money be placed on an equality with gold—probably the heaviest burden ever put upon public financiers. One of the Omaha papers, the *Morning World-Herald*, apropos of this, supplies the farmers with the following wisdom:

> "The charge is, that the undue scarcity of money, owing to the failure of the Government to provide an adequate supply, has a tendency to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. This idea finds confirmation by the examples of two European nations. France is one, England the other. In France the supply of money amounts to about $60 per person—that is to say, ——; but in England the circulating medium amounts to only about $15 per person, that is to say, ——. The circulating medium, therefore, is about four times as great per person in democratic France as in autocratic England. How about pauperism? England is compelled to spend $60,000,000 a year to take care of paupers, that is to say, ——; but in France the annual expenditure for the care of paupers is only $10,000,000, that is to say ——, or only one-sixth what it is in England."

There would not be much use in going into the question of fact with an economist of this sort; we cite the passage as in part an explanation of the ideas about currency which are now ravaging the West. A very large body of the farmers of that region are now really peasants fresh from Europe, with all the prejudices and all the liability to deception of their class. The old boast about "American intelligence" does not any longer apply in any sense to large bodies of population in the Northwest. Most of our political questions are very tough subjects for them, but a cruel fate could not have selected a more unfortunate subject for them to vote on, when they get here, than the regulation of the currency. No enemy of democracy has, in fact, ever imagined a grosser *reductio ad absurdum* of the democratic theory than the submission to the popular vote of the question how much currency a commercial nation ought to have, and of what material it should be made.

The extract we have made above from the *World-Herald* shows the kind of help the farmers get in forming their opinions on these questions from the only political guides they have — the local newspapers. The editor is about as well informed as they are—in fact, does little for them except to put their ideas in type. He ought, of course, to be a man who could tell the convention that if national prosperity and individual happiness and comfort depended on the volume of the currency, and the Government could make the volume of the currency what it pleased, it would be almost criminal to fix the amount at $50, or, indeed, at any figure whatever. It would be the duty of a civilized government to go on issuing fresh currency until pauperism and even poverty not only had been reduced, but had totally disappeared. If by means of a currency of $60 per head France has cut down the cost of maintaining her paupers to $10,000,000, it is very wrong of her not to proceed to issue as much more currency as will cause the extirpation of pauperism. In fact, if poverty can be extirpated by currency, and currency may be anything the Government pleases, we have at last discovered the philosopher's stone, and the greatest cause of human misery is on the point of disappearing. Can any man who is concerned about the future of the country, read these farmers' lucubrations on national finance without feeling the enormous importance of having the mechanism of exchange (we will, to avoid offence, say nothing about the principles of taxation), taught in the public schools?

It is scarcely necessary for any one to waste strength in attacking the compulsory-voting proposition which Gov. Hill has been urging upon the Legislature for the past three years, for the plan never has had any support among the members and is not likely to have any. There is something quite ludicrous in the advocacy of this most theoretical of all reforms by a Governor who professes such boundless con-

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tempt for "theorists" of all kinds. He thinks it would be "unconstitutional" to compel a free American citizen to vote by means of a blanket ballot, because that would require him to cast a ballot upon which were the names of candidates not of his choice; but he is warmly in favor of compelling all citizens to register and vote, no matter whether they wish to or not, and of organizing in support of such compulsion an elaborate system of fines and penalties, and an illimitable body of officials to enforce them. So far as interference with the "constitutional" rights of citizens was concerned, this would make the voting of a blanket ballot appear somewhat trifling.

The preliminary report of the Commission on Taxation in New Jersey is a depressing document. It is not altogether prepossessing to see that the Commission selected as one of their counsel the son of the Governor under whose administration they were appointed; but this, we suppose, can nowadays be regarded as only a trifling indelicacy. But it is truly deplorable that the representatives of a great and enlightened community should publish the record of their flounderings among the meshes of antiquated fallacies from which an acquaintance with the elementary principles of economics would have delivered them. Thus, they lay it down as indisputable that obligations and promises to pay are property that should be taxed just like tangible wealth; that if the depositors in a bank draw their checks for a million dollars, there is an actual creation *ex nihilo* of a million dollars' worth of property having "every characteristic that should induce it to contribute towards the expenses of the State." As the Clearing-house records show a weekly creation of property of this kind to the extent of a billion of dollars, statesmen who consider it the true policy for a State to levy all the taxes possible are naturally eager for the exploitation of this new source of revenue.

The puerility of this report is further manifested by the statement that no dissatisfaction with the tax law of Massachusetts is known in that State, and by the suggestion that evasion of taxes upon property of the kind above described could be prevented by refusing the aid of the courts in the collection of notes not stamped as listed by the assessor. The Commissioners apparently suppose that capitalists are under some compulsion to lend their money in New Jersey, where they obtain a less return than they can get elsewhere. Undoubtedly there are serious abuses under the present system in that State, some of which are correctly described in this report, but we fear that no improvement is to be expected as a result of the labors of the present Commission. Unhappily, a large proportion of the most intelligent citizens of New Jersey have no time to attend to the proceedings of their Legislature, and it is quite probable that some barbarous laws will be enacted before they are aroused.

The pressure of intelligent public sentiment of all parties in Boston for the retention of Gen. Corse as Postmaster has become so strong that both Senators Hoar and Dawes are said to have yielded to it, and to have recommended his reappointment to the President. Their course in doing this has greatly exasperated the Machine Republicans of Boston, and they are multiplying their efforts to convince the President that the future of the Republican party in Massachusetts hangs upon the appointment of a Republican as Postmaster of Boston. They admit that Gen. Corse has made an almost ideal Postmaster, but he is a Democrat. The President, as represented in many recent White House interviews with delegations from various States, is strongly inclined to the view that no man but a Republican should hold office, and the attitude of Senators Hoar and Dawes must cause him great perplexity, if not positive pain. He has a natural sympathy with the Massachusetts Republican leader who said, in reference to this Post-office controversy, that he "was not voting the Republican ticket every time for the sake of keeping the Democrats in office."

The decision of Judge Wallace, in the Circuit Court on Monday, that any American may take and sell for his own profit all that goes under the name "of the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica," provided he does not use articles therein written by Americans—an infinitesimally small portion of the whole—is doubtless good law, and yet we trust there is not one honest man or woman in this community who will read it without a blush of shame and indignation. It means that American jurisprudence sanctions and even protects the wholesale, deliberate, advertised theft of the fruits of another man's labor and capital, provided that other man be born under a foreign flag. It is, therefore, a decision which, without meaning any disrespect to the learned judge who delivered it, ought never to have been heard from any tribunal but that of an Algerine Cadi in the old days of the Corsairs. It actually makes mockery of our religion and of our morality, and brings disgrace on our courts and Legislature. Of course there are plenty of Gallios among us who think it injudicious to say these things lest the thieves should get angry and steal more than ever. But theft and brigandage were never yet suppressed by soft-sawder. They have been always put down by the anger of honest men and the shame and sorrow of religious men.

The Waterbury *American* has construed our remarks on the recommendations of the Board of Arbitration of this State touching the railroad service, as concurrence in the Board's plan of settling differences between the officers of the road and the employees. Their suggestion was that these differences should be referred to the decision of a State board of arbitration, and the *American* points out, justly enough, that this Board would probably be in most cases a political body, with strong leanings towards "the poor man" and against "the bloated corporation," and that under these conditions the maintenance of discipline would be impossible. We had no intention of giving in our adhesion to this particular part of the arrangement. What we recommended was the general reorganization of the railroad service on a semi-military basis, like the Police and Fire Departments. If railroad corporations had, whenever they wished to dismiss a man for incompetency or misconduct, to go outside to a political board for permission, their service would not be organized on a semi-military basis, but rather on what we should call a bunkum basis. As in the military, police, and fire services, the offences of railroad employees would, under the plan we have suggested, be in trifling cases punishable summarily by the immediate superior, in graver cases by some sort of tribunal like a court-martial within the service. This, however, is a matter of detail. What civilized communities demand and will have is, that men who have voluntarily taken charge of great lines of communication, and have the lives, health, and happiness, and business interests of millions largely dependent on their fidelity, shall not be allowed to abandon their trains and switches and telegraphic instruments suddenly and without notice, on their mere whim or caprice, or in a gust of passion or delusion, any more than a sailor is permitted to refuse duty in a gale at sea, or a soldier to throw down his rifle in the presence of the enemy. The thing is preposterous on its face, and cannot last much longer.

The interview with Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of Canada, which was published the other day, on the subject of a commercial treaty with the United States had a note of shrillness which is rather unusual with that statesman. "It means annexation, that is, treason," said the excited statesman of the Dominion. Sir John is the leader of the high-tariff party as well as of the Conservatives, and, like our own high-tariff leaders, he sees how helpful it may be at times to "wave the bloody shirt." Commercial freedom is becoming popular on both sides of the line. So, on our side, the frightened protectionists cried out in the last Presidential campaign, "Rebel brigadiers!" and they actually saved a good many votes in that way. Since the passage of the McKinley Bill and the tremendous rebuff that they received in the elections, they have been trying to pass a Force Bill, in order to turn public attention away from the tariff and to bring back the rebel brigadiers as a political issue. This thought was probably running in the mind of Sir John when he called commercial union with the United States "annexation, that is, treason." We had reciprocity with Canada ten or twelve years without any symptoms or talk of annexation. Reciprocity was not technically commercial union, but if it had been such, the political consequences would have been in no wise different.

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MR. WINDOM'S LEGACY.

THE death of Secretary Windom in this city on Thursday was one of those fatalities which shock us more by their suddenness than by their calamitousness. Mr. Windom had filled high places and enjoyed large honors, and was well on toward the Psalmist's period of life, being in his sixty-fourth year. Yet he appeared to be at the maximum of his powers, and he certainly occupied a place not easy to fill. Being cut off in an instant of time, without a premonitory symptom, so far as the public had any knowledge, his loss is more deeply impressive than if he had succumbed to some lingering illness. Yet all of us who survive him for some brief space would, upon reflection, prefer to go as he went rather than to yield life inch by inch.

Mr. Windom was one of those useful average statesmen who are necessary to all countries, and who keep things going in about the right way from generation to generation. He had twice filled the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and in both instances creditably. On the first occasion he accomplished what was then a considerable feat of financiering, although now it is looked upon as commonplace enough. He funded a portion of the public debt bearing 5 per cent. interest into 3½ and 3 per cents, without new borrowing, without even printing new bonds, and without losing the Government's option to redeem them at any time, by simply stamping a few words upon them. This operation involved questions of constitutional law as well as of finance. Although the operation now seems very simple, it was not so at the time when it was performed. Therefore Mr. Windom created a precedent of some magnitude, which has the force of law for all coming time. It is not given to many Secretaries of the Treasury to do this. He has linked his name with a method of public finance which will be useful whenever in the future like circumstances shall arise.

His usefulness was proved in another way when Mr. Harrison came to make up his Cabinet. At that time Mr. Windom had taken up his residence in New York, and had become engaged in business here as one of the promoters of the Broadway Arcade Railway. He had separated himself from the State of Minnesota, whose Senator he had formerly been, and from the line of political preferment. Probably nobody was more surprised than himself when he was called to take the second place in the Cabinet at Washington. His selection, after Mr. Allison had declined the place, was a matter of sheer necessity on the part of the incoming President. No political faction was placated by his appointment. No geographical section was flattered by it. He was the only man of sufficient reputation in both politics and finance who could be induced to take the place; and, as we have said, he filled the office a second time creditably. We have had occasion to differ from him seriously now and then, but we recognize the fact that, even if his policy was open to question at times, the difficulties which beset him, which were more political than financial, were extremely perplexing, especially those relating to silver and the tariff.

The last words that Mr. Windom spoke were an earnest and very emphatic protest against the introduction of the silver standard—that is, against the Free-Coinage Bill. This is his last will and testament, his legacy to those who come after him in the high office he held, and to his fellow-countrymen. His words on Thursday evening are weighted with peculiar significance, because they must be taken as the settled policy of the President. A Secretary of the Treasury speaking on that theme must be assumed to represent the Administration. Therefore, for all purposes of advertisement to the country, it is the same as though Mr. Harrison himself had spoken. What Mr. Windom said on this subject has been said by others before him, perhaps—there is not much room for originality now, after the flood of discussion that has been poured forth during the past fifteen years. But nobody has put the matter in fewer or better chosen words. Here is a single paragraph which ought to be read and pondered by everybody who is capable of reasoning on the subject at all:

> "Would our own people await the arrival of these silver argosies from Europe before acting? Not, unless the Yankee has lost his quick scent of danger and forgotten his cunning. Bank depositors, trust companies, the holders of United States notes and gold certificates would instantly lock up all the gold at command, and then join the panic-inspired procession to the Treasury, each and all anxious to be in time to grasp the golden prize before it was too late. Probably before the swiftest ocean greyhound could land its silver cargo at New York, the last gold dollar within reach would be safely hidden away in private boxes, and in the vaults of safe-deposit companies, to be brought out only by a high premium for exportation. This sudden retirement of $60,000,000 of gold, with the accompanying panic, would cause contraction and commercial disaster unparalleled in human experience, and our country would at once step down to the silver basis, when there would be no longer any inducement for coinage, and silver dollars would sink to their bullion value."

There must have been one thought in the Secretary's mind back of this which he did not utter, and that is, that the only way for the Government to keep any gold would be to suspend the payment of it. In other words, the only way to avoid suspension would be to suspend. It would be as well to stop paying at the beginning of a run as at the end of it.

PARTY LESSONS FROM CONNECTICUT.

THE dispute over the Governorship at the Connecticut State capital has, on the whole, grown steadily more bitter and involved since the Legislature met four weeks ago. Not the slightest real progress has been made in any direction towards a settlement, and the result of a vast deal of partisan finesse and gesticulation has been an approach, not towards a point of agreement, but towards the point of actual collision. But whether that collision is to come in the form of violence or in the shape of stoppage of legislation and tying up State funds, or is at the last moment to be luckily avoided, the case as it stands offers some serious warnings. One cannot see an old and law-abiding New England State forced thus to a position which lacks only the presence of Federal troops to remind us of Louisiana during the last two years of Grant's Administration, without finding certain elements in the case full of instruction, and, it may be hoped, ultimately profitable to our statesmen.

The first and most resonant warning is the one to State constitution-makers against making the organic law of their commonwealths too inflexible. That State constitutions should not be changed as easily as the statutory law is a truth manifest enough, but there is equal or perhaps greater danger in the other extreme. The latter is the trouble with the Connecticut Constitution. Adopted at a time (1818) when the Connecticut towns, as compared with to-day, were equal, it made absolutely no provision for the differential growth of those towns and the unequal distribution of party strength in towns of varied size. The Connecticut Constitution-makers of 1818 little foresaw the time when New Haven would have, say, 150 times the vote of the town of Union, while each would be sending two representatives to the General Assembly. Still less did the old Federalist or Democrat descry that in 1890 the Democrats of the State would poll some 5,000 majority in twelve Connecticut cities, which majority would be almost wasted in choosing State officers or Federal Senators. Least of all, perhaps, did he forecast that the system which he was creating would so become the vantage-ground of a minority party as to make that party stoutly resist any reform. Accordingly those old constitution-makers went on, and, by providing, as the only means of altering their work, for a majority vote in the lower house of one Legislature, a two-thirds vote in both houses of the Legislature next following, and final submission to the people, practically locked the door on any constitutional change as to which the two leading parties might divide. Constitution-makers have often made mistakes to be demonstrated by time and the change of material conditions, but in no State, we believe, have they left those mistakes so exceedingly difficult to correct as in Connecticut. The warning against adopting constitutions too iron-bound is clear and emphatic.

A second lesson from Connecticut is the extreme unwisdom of allowing partisan bodies, and particularly State Legislatures, to be "returning boards" for votes. Altogether the two houses of the Connecticut Legislature have thus far divided some twenty or thirty times on matters pertaining to the count of the votes, and each time on party lines. If one party had had control of both houses, there would have been no broil, but there might have been great injustice. As it is, with one party controlling the Senate and the other the lower house, there has been for a month an absolute and obstinate deadlock of which the end is not yet. Large bodies like State Legislatures, indeed, have all the party irresponsibility which goes with numbers. Chosen as party representatives and easily susceptible to the party lash and the control of leaders, it is hard to imagine a group of men less fitted to pass quietly on

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facts and the law. If we are not to have the experiences of Connecticut repeated in other States after close elections, wise statecraft surely dictates that there must always be an appeal to the courts, even with the evils to those tribunals which follow political decisions; or else, what may seem better, some State canvassing body containing, as nearly as may be, an equal number of party representatives, with power to add an arbitrator in case of obstinate difference. Not often, fortunately, are the functions of such a body important; but now and then, when a handful of votes tells the story of a Governor, a Federal Senator, or even a national President, won or lost, its duties become extremely momentous.

A third lesson, to which we have heretofore called attention, may be derived from the working of the Connecticut Secret Ballot Law, to which the present trouble must be chiefly attributed. As discussion and investigation in the State Legislature have gone on, the obscure cases arising under that law have been multiplied, and one branch of cases alone—that of duplicated votes in the envelopes—reaches to no less than 80 out of the 168 towns in Connecticut. If the law and the equities were to be absolutely determined, it would probably mean the endless task of overhauling the ballot-boxes in the two hundred or more voting-places in the State. The significant thing is, however, that practically all of these cases have arisen entirely from letting the parties handle the ballots. "Doublet" ballots, "marked" ballots, "unsealed" envelopes, envelopes "not endorsed," and all the other causes of rejected votes would have been absolutely avoided by simply adopting the Australian plan, with its genuine State ballot. States, like Maine and others, where the politicians are striving to emasculate proposed ballot-laws, can take this Connecticut experience as a most solemn and timely warning.

The final suggestion from Connecticut is its addition to the general stock of events which signal the moral decline of the Republican party. We see there one of those old Yankee commonwealths where the Republican party was born and cradled in the "moral ideas" of the anti-slavery conflict, which gave us then such men as Buckingham and Ferry in the forum and Sedgwick and Terry in the field. Yet now, in the later and more degenerate days of the Republican party, we find it resisting constitutional reform; sending to the Federal Senate, to favor force bills, Platts and Hawleys, who themselves hold their seats because of disfranchised votes; over and over again putting in minority State officers, and willing now, for the sake of a Governorship, to plunge the State administration into chaos; violating even the antiquated Constitution behind which it has been intrenched, approving a legislative report that is a satire alike on fairness and on mathematics, and, thus far, refusing to seat a candidate whose constitutional majority is unquestioned by anybody. If we add the stained personality of Governor Bulkeley, the first violator of the Secret Ballot Law of the State, as chosen leader of the party in Connecticut, we obtain a picture of Republican party debasement from which its good deacons and church-goers may well turn away to the seclusion of their closets.

THE PROSPECT OF THE ENGLISH GENERAL ELECTIONS.

MR. GLADSTONE is justified in attaching great importance to the result of the recent bye-election at Hartlepool. The outcome of that election tends to show that the scandals and quarrels in which Mr. Parnell has been involved have not arrested the "flowing tide" of Liberal-progress. If that tide be not arrested, it is as nearly certain as anything in the future of politics can be, that, at the next general election, the Conservative and Liberal-Unionist coalition will lose its majority. The more closely the course of political events in Great Britain during the last four years is studied, the stronger becomes the evidence of the volume and direction of the movement of opinion against the present Government. No one of the members of Parliament elected four years ago as a Gladstonian has gone over to the Unionists. Four members, viz., those for the Barnard Castle and for the Jarrow divisions of Durham, for the Wilton division of Wiltshire, and for Linlithgowshire, classed as Unionists when elected, are now back in the Liberal fold. The Conservative member for Deptford and the Liberal Unionist member for West Edinburgh, upon their conversion to home rule, took the Chiltern Hundreds. The latter stood, and was re-elected, as a Gladstonian.

There have been 45 contested bye-elections since September, 1886, in British constituencies which were also contested at the general election of 1886. The total Home-Rule vote in these constituencies in 1886 was but 131,451. At the bye-elections it was 164,818, a gain of 33,367. The Unionist vote rose in the same time from 139,227 to 150,051, a gain of but 10,824. The net Home-Rule gain was thus 22,543, or at the rate of 500 to each borough or division. At the general election of 1886, the majority in each of 161 constituencies was less than 500. If the ratio of gain made in the bye-elections shall be maintained at the next general election, the Gladstonian triumph will be decisive.

The practical result of the bye-elections in the transfer of seats from Conservatives and Unionists to Home-Rulers has been even more marked. There have been, since September, 1886, elections held for ninety-nine Parliamentary seats (although, since, as at Burnley and at Ayr, the same seat has become vacant more than once, the total number of bye-elections has been somewhat larger). The following table shows the political opinions of the members returned for these ninety-nine constituencies at the last bye-elections, at the election of 1886, and at the election of 1885, before the Home-Rule issue divided the old Liberal party.

BYE-ELECTIONS.

	Lib. H. R.	Irish Nat.	Lib. Un.	Con.
England	25	..	2	33
Wales	7			
Scotland	8	..	1	2
Ireland	..	17	1	3
Total	40	17	4	38

GENERAL ELECTION 1886.

	Lib. H. R.	Irish Nat.	Lib. Un.	Con.
England	13	..	6	41
Wales	5	..	1	1
Scotland	6	..	3	2
Ireland	..	17	..	4
Total	24	17	10	48

GENERAL ELECTION 1885.

	Lib.	Irish Nat.	Con.
England	21	..	39
Wales	7		
Scotland	9	..	2
Ireland	..	17	4
Total	37	17	45

The Home-Rule Liberals have gained sixteen seats, the Liberal Unionists have lost six, and the Conservatives ten. These gains and losses are net. Irish Nationalists were elected at the bye-elections for all the seats previously held by that party. The result of the 99 bye-elections, therefore, was that, of the 58 Conservative and Liberal-Unionists' seats, no less than 17 were captured by the Liberal Home-Rulers, while of the 41 Home-Rule seats which became vacant the Unionists were successful in but one. A similar percentage of gains at the general election in the constituencies in which bye-elections have not been held, would give a Home-Rule majority of between 80 and 90 in the next Parliament.

If the comparison of the results of the bye-elections be made with those of the general elections of 1885, the indications are still favorable to a large Home-Rule majority whenever a new House of Commons shall be chosen. It is true that the results of the polling at the bye-elections show that the Liberal-Unionists are still numerous enough to manifest their strength in some constituencies, but the combined Liberal and Home-Rule majority in the House elected in 1885, ranging as it did from 160 to 170, was large enough to permit some decrease of Liberal strength and still insure a comfortable Liberal majority.

But if we go a little further, there will be still more reason to predict such a result. We find that, in spite of a loss in the popular vote, the Liberals and Home-Rulers have at the bye-elections actually carried more seats than they did in 1885. These 99 constituencies were in 1885 represented by 45 Conservatives, as against 38 Conservatives and 4 Liberal-Unionists now, and by

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87 Liberals and 17 Nationalists, as against the same number of the latter and 40 of the former to-day. This winning of more seats by less votes is of course partly due to accidental circumstances, but partly to a cause which is likely to exert an influence in the general election. If the constituencies which gave a Conservative majority in 1885 be examined separately, it will be found that the Home-Rule Liberals were at the bye-elections actually stronger in them than were the united Liberals in 1885, before the party split over Mr. Gladstone's Home-Rule and Land-Purchase Bills. Thus, in the 31 British constituencies which in 1885 gave a Conservative plurality and were contested both in that year and at bye-elections subsequent to September, 1886, the Conservative vote in 1885 was 111,263 and at the bye-elections but 107,54 —a loss of 3,723; while the Liberal vote in 1885 of 86,617 rose to a Home-Rule vote of 89,490 at the bye-elections, a gain of 2,873, or a net Home-Rule gain of 6,596. Twenty out of the 31 constituencies showed Home-Rule gains. On the other hand, out of 29 constituencies which in 1885 gave Liberal pluralities, no less than 25 showed Conservative or Unionist gains at the bye-elections. The total vote in these 29 constituencies was, in 1885, Conservative 84,888, Liberal 129,371; at the bye-elections, Conservative and Unionists 98,683, a gain of 13,795, and Liberal 119,917, a loss of 9,454, or a net Liberal loss of 23,249. It is evident, therefore, that for some reason —the dislike to the fusion with a minority of the opposite party, so common among the lower ranks of all parties everywhere, the rise of social and labor questions into increased importance, the usual tendency to turn against the party in power, an actual conversion on the subject of Home-Rule, or what not—there is a movement of Conservative voters away from that party towards the Home-Rule Liberals.

This movement is obscured in constituencies in which the Liberal vote was originally very large by the fact that the Unionist Liberals, while less numerous than in 1886, are still more numerous than are the Conservative recruits to Home Rule. It so happens, however, that a considerable falling off in the Liberal vote in the constituencies which in 1885 gave Liberal pluralities, may be less disastrous to that party than a much less shrinkage in the Conservative constituencies would be to the latter organization. In 1885 the greater part of the constituencies carried by very small majorities returned Conservative members. From every possible point of view, it is clear that unless recent events have checked it, the "flowing tide" is running in fast enough and strong enough to sweep the Salisbury Government from power whenever the general election takes place. If it shall turn out that a check has been given, it is historically all the more important that the failure of the effort to give Ireland the control of its own Government shall not lead future students to think that the movement never was in a fair way to succeed.

QUALITY OF OUR LATEST IMMIGRATION.

THE official figures of the immigration to this country during 1890 reveal some striking changes in the nationalities of the new arrivals from those of previous years. In round numbers the total immigration of the year was 491,000, or a gain of about 64,000 over that of the preceding year. Nearly half of this total gain came from Italy alone, for the number from that country exceeded 62,000, and was nearly 33,000 larger than in 1889, a gain of more than 100 per cent. A smaller numerical but larger proportionate gain was shown by Poland, which sent nearly 20,000, against less than 5,000 in 1889. Other countries showing gains were Hungary, over 9,000, Russia over 7,000, Austria over 6,500, and Bohemia over 5,000. In fact, the total gains from these countries aggregate about 76,000, or 12,000 more than the net gain on the entire immigration from all countries combined. There was no material gain on the German and Scandinavian totals, which remain about the same, and there was a considerable falling off in the English, Scotch, Irish, Netherland, and Swiss. The German still leads all others, standing at about 96,000, but the Italian has gone ahead not only of the Swedish and Norwegian, but of the Irish, and stands next to the German.

For the first time in the history of the country the number of Italians entering it exceeded the number of Irish, and also exceeded any previous Italian total in a single year, the nearest approach to the 62,000 of 1890 being the 47,000 of 1888. The Irish total for 1890, a little over 53,000, is below that of any previous year, with two exceptions, since 1880. A lower limit was reached in 1885, when less than 50,000 came, and again in 1886, when less than 53,000 came. All the countries, except Italy, which show gains are those of Slavic races, the immigration from which has been regarded hitherto as the least desirable of all that has come hither, while all the countries which remain stationary or show a falling off are those from which the most desirable foreign additions to our population have been drawn for the past quarter of a century. These are large general facts which may well call for serious consideration.

There are special causes for this increase in the Italian and Slavic inflow. The Italians are brought here in response to demands from this side of the ocean for a class of laborers who will work at low prices and will not be led into strikes. Those of them who come from the northern and central portions of Italy are usually strong, powerful men and women, sober, industrious, and moral, and capable of enduring great fatigue. This estimate of them is quoted from the report of our former Consul-General at Rome, Mr. Alden. Those coming from southern Italy, according to the same authority, are less desirable.

The large increase in Polish immigration is due entirely to the persecution of the Jews in Russia. Some of this immigration is of excellent character, and some of it is quite the reverse. It has been directed to this country through the exertions of Baron Hirsch, and the most serious question in regard to it has been that of a proper distribution of the new arrivals throughout the country. A Hebrew society in this city, which is working in connection with the Baron, is considering the matter, and a solution is looked for within a short time.

The countries which contribute most heavily to the Anarchist population of our large cities are Austria and Bohemia, and, though those countries send us some industrious immigrants who become desirable citizens, there is good cause for uneasiness in the rapid growth of additions from those quarters. The large increase in Hungarians is due almost entirely to the importation of large gangs of them by the miners and manufacturers of Pennsylvania and other States, who have substituted them for other laborers who struck for higher wages. They have many of the characteristics of Chinese laborers, working very cheaply and living upon very meagre fare. For their presence in the United States, the American laborer has to thank the protected manufacturers and other loud-mouthed friends of American workingmen.

The most serious aspect of the immigration statistics is the evidence they give that the tide of German, Scandinavian, English, Scotch, Dutch, and Swiss arrivals has been checked. These nationalities have always furnished the most desirable additions which have been made from alien soils to our population. Their representatives are frugal, industrious, of good average intelligence, and the great majority of them come to this country to make homes for themselves and become citizens. They have built up thousands of acres in the Western States, changing them from a barren wilderness into fruitful farms. They become householders almost from the moment of their arrival, and from the nature of the case become also law-abiding and useful citizens. It would be a sad change for the American people if there were to be a steady decline in the number of recruits to our citizenship from these countries, and a steady gain from the countries which showed an increase last year, but it would at present be premature to fear such results. The inflow from the desirable sources has not been stopped. It is still very strong, and its quality remains undiluted. Neither is there much reason to fear that the increase from the undesirable sources will be maintained. Much of it is undoubtedly temporary, and reasonable and perfectly legitimate and practicable restrictions will be sufficient to keep it within the bounds of safety.

LOOSE LEGISLATION IN FRANCE.

THEY do not always do these things better in France. Under the Empire the phraseology of all bills passed by the Chambers was closely scrutinized by the Council of State, and pains were taken to make laws clear and precise in their terminology, consistent with themselves, and in harmony with existing statutes. With the coming in of cruder

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methods, too much like our own, under which every Deputy can put any sort of an amendment into a bill in any sort of language, if he can get votes enough, some curious specimens of carelessly drawn legislation, with the resulting tangles of judicial interpretation, have got into the statute-books. One such would appear to be the famous law on "syndicates," or associations of workingmen and others, passed March 21, 1884. It was designed primarily to benefit trades-unions, and under its terms public works in the city of Paris have been repeatedly let to such organizations. But the law was much debated through several sessions before getting final enactment, and came to be a composite affair before all was done. For example, the right of association was extended expressly to farmers and merchants, and the law vaguely spoke of those who had "financial interests" to defend as also entitled to the privilege. Can members of the liberal professions associate under the law? The courts have said no and yes.

The physicians of the Department of Orme formed an association for mutual protection, under the terms of the law, and in that capacity brought a suit for damages against a man who was illegally practising medicine within their preserves. His defence was the technical one that the association had no legal standing in court, as it had no right to exist under the authority conferred by the law. The lower court so held, as did also the next higher tribunal, and finally the Court of Cassation. The doctors, therefore, got nothing but the heavy bill of costs for their suit. This decision was supposed to settle the law, and to exclude from its benefits all but workingmen, farmers, and merchants. However, in 1889, an association of teachers, mostly connected with religious institutions, was formed, but was ordered by the Minister of Public Instruction to dissolve, as being illegal. But it was shown that a similar association, of a personnel more agreeable to the Minister, had been allowed to exist for three years. Finally, a third teachers' organization was formed, and resolved to test the matter in the courts. Thereupon the Tribunal of the Seine reviewed the case, and came to the conclusion that the law really placed no restrictions upon the right of association, thus leaving all again in delightful uncertainty.

Another ambiguity of the law has left it doubtful whether an association can sue in its corporate capacity. The Paris courts have held that it can, but a recent case in the Department of Aix sets a different precedent. An association of merchants at Nice brought a suit for damages against a fellow-tradesman for the curious offence of having advertised a sheriff's sale in too flaming a manner. He had filled the town with "dodgers," and covered all the dead-walls with posters, seting forth the immense advantages of being present at the sale ordered by the court, where goods were to be had at any price. This was a gross injury to the business of the conservative merchants, who saw their shops deserted in consequence, and hence the suit. The guilty man could not deny the crime, but rested his defence on the legal inability of the association to sue as a corporation. The lower court at Nice over ruled this, but the Aix Court of Appeals sustained the objection, and threw the case out. The defendant placed much reliance upon citations from the debates in the Chambers, especially from a speech of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, Minister at the time, who declared that it was not intended to give any such right to the "syndicates." By thus going outside of the terms of the law to arrive at its intent, the Court decided that the association could not sue, and that the only remedy left the injured merchants for the wrong they had suffered —a wrong which appears to be admitted on all hands to be grievous—was a series of individual prosecutions.

THE WINTER EXHIBITION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

LONDON, January 10, 1891.

THAT the twenty-second winter loan exhibition of old masters, lately opened at the Royal Academy, is uninteresting, as a whole, is hardly a matter of surprise. Many as are the fine private collections of England which for twenty-two seasons have contributed to the winter show at Burlington House, they are not inexhaustible, and this year it looks as if the end of their resources had been reached.

The present exhibition contains no such brilliant series of masterpieces as the Velasquezes and Rembrandts of last winter, and comparatively few single pictures of note. It is, indeed, successful chiefly in showing what indifferent work could be produced in a so-called great age of painting or by a really great painter. The examples of the primitive schools of Italy, Holland, and Flanders do but give an eloquent contradiction to the Ruskinian theory of the artistic value of religious motives, and prove that only too often the painting of Christs, saints, and Madonnas was the most perfunctory task. Even in the ages of faith, as now, there were a few great masters and a multitude of feeble imitators; and unfortunately it is the latter who are here represented, though one or two pictures by Memling and Mabuse are very decorative, and though there is a little Madonna by Mantegna which, while it is inferior to his best work (I believe it is questioned whether it should really be attributed to him), is admirable in the foreshortening of the figures, and beautiful in its Blake-like arrangement of scarlet and golden angels in the background.

Of the foreign masters of a later date, only two have been brought forward with prominence, Velasquez and Franz Hals. Of the former there is nothing that can quite equal the Venus of last year; but then, on the other hand, nothing in the exhibition can approach the three portraits by him which now appear. The most striking is the small full-length of the Duke D'Olivarez on horseback, tremendously strong in its rendering of character, fine in the color of the crimson scarf and the sheen of the armor, and full of life in the action of the rearing horse. Besides this, there are one of his twenty-three variations of that very paintable Philip IV., this time in royal red, and an Infanta Maria Theresa as a child in quaint court dress, black over great hoops, a wide lace collar, and a red cap, standing by a chair where a little spaniel is curled up, his face looking out of the canvas; costume and chair and dog all suggested as no one else could have done them, though the face of the Infanta was probably painted by another artist, so little is it like the work of Velasquez.

The six examples of Franz Hals are less satisfactory. None can compare to the portrait in the National Gallery; all are rather black, and one or two have apparently been restored, to their irreparable loss. But Franz Hals, even at his most indifferent, could not be commonplace; and "Le Joyeux Buveur"—his jolly carouser, smiling in drunken good humor, glass held high, lute clasped tight by a hand that can no longer steady it—and three portraits, hanging together in the centre of one of the smaller rooms, completely kill the little Flemish and Dutch cabinet pictures by which they are surrounded. Studied singly and apart, many of these, especially wonderful interiors by De Hooghe, Meer, and Terburg (who were already preoccupied with what we usually suppose are wholly modern problems of light and perspective), would be altogether delightful. But their almost microscopic qualities can never be appreciated in a large gallery under any circumstances; when contrasted with the broader, more artistic methods of a master like Franz Hals, they show to the very worst advantage.

British artists have fared but little better. In the Royal Academy of late years, in the New Gallery and the Grosvenor, Sir Joshua and Gainsborough and Romney have again and again been much more adequately represented. Portrait-painting to the eighteenth-century artist was not infrequently as perfunctory work as Madonna painting was to the Pre-Raphaelite, and royal and noble sitters had as paralyzing an effect as church patrons. Even Sir Joshua could not always escape this deadening influence, and only a couple of portraits — one of himself, another of Robert Mayne—and a charming study of a "Nymph, with Boy Piping," would give the person who knew nothing of his work an idea of his mastery of beautiful color and composition which ranks him only second to the great Venetians. There are Gainsboroughs in which the drapery is rendered with a freedom and vigor not unworthy of Velasquez, while the face has been elaborately finished until all art is worked out of it. The Romneys one would willingly pass without a second glance, with the exception of his incomparable "Mrs. Carwardine and Child." This picture has been exhibited before, at the Grosvenor, if I am not mistaken, and it has been engraved. It is a simple and exquisite version of a subject which, with the old Italians, was overweighted by its religious interpretation, and with the modern artist is degraded by Christmas Annual sentiment. But Romney treated it with a realism delightful in its sincerity and free from the affected straining after prettiness but too often marked in much of his work. The composition is as fine as in the most celebrated Madonnas—the child clasped in the mother's arms, her face softened by the delicate white cap pressed close to the little head; and both figures are well modelled and solidly painted. But the chief charm is the color, rich and glowing, which even an ugly note in the red of the chair cannot mar.

The most notable British portrait, however, is really Hoppner's "Mrs. Gwyn, the Jessamy Bride." It would be a masterpiece whoever had painted it; coming from Hoppner, whose work rarely rose above mediocrity, it is a revelation. In it he seems for once to have thrown tradition to the winds, and to have recorded his own impressions in his own way. Mrs. Gwyn, in a white gown, a bit of blue around the waist, and a powdered wig, is sitting, her arms folded in her lap, under a tree. The

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composition is the simplest; it is in the execution that the artist surpassed himself. The face and hair and dress are sketched in with infinite freedom and knowledge, the color is as lovely as in a Romney, while in his large, effective treatment of the foliage in the background he seems almost to have anticipated Monet.

Of the British landscapes there is nothing special to be said. The selection does but scant justice to Crome; there is but one small Constable; the single Bonington is not a very good example, and the Turners vary from a big classical composition to two scenes in the Park at Lowther Castle, which still give a fine effect of distance, and probably were good before the color faded from them.

To lend an element of novelty to the exhibition, two galleries have been set apart for a distinct collection, illustrating, as the title-page of the catalogue explains, the progress of the art of water color in England. This is perhaps the most interesting, if the least artistic, section of the show, and it is certainly the most timely. We have heard a great deal of late about the "national" art of water color, for, in his patriotism, the true Briton has not yet discovered that art knows no nationality. We are told, with a repetition which grows wearisome, that this is the medium in which British artists are supreme; and, according to the new gospel, Reynolds and Romney, Gainsborough and Constable, sink into insignificance by the side of Samuel Palmer and David Cox, William Hunt and John Frederick Lewis. Men who own many drawings by these masters of insular reputation are crying out aloud against the iniquitous indifference of the nation; they would organize a crusade against the National Gallery, and ruthlessly strip from its walls what in their facetiousness they call "squint-eyed Byzantine saints" by Italian intruders, and "scraps of Constable," who was but a painter in oils, in order to find a place for water colors by English artists who have not as yet been honored in their own country. Or they would gladly set up a new temple of British art, in which British water color could assert its supremacy. The gain to the nation, they maintain, would be great. But the profit to present owners of the despised drawings for which they cannot find a paying market, would be unquestionably greater. For the dealer, professional or amateur, there is no better customer than the Government.

But so far the Government has not availed itself of the opportunity for enriching private subjects at the expense of the nation with the celerity it showed in the case of the Duke of Marlborough's Raphael. An exhibition elsewhere of representative examples of the "national" art comes, therefore, at a most opportune moment. At the Royal Academy one can now see the genuine British work to which it has been calmly proposed to sacrifice a great portion of the treasures of the National Gallery. It must be confessed that the study of this work speedily reconciles one to the indifference of the nation. With some very conspicuous exceptions, the present collection of water-color drawings is even more devoid of artistic importance than the annual show at the Institute. The earliest, in point of date, in the series, are more primitive than the most primitive squint-eyed Byzantine saints, and are remarkable for nothing but the absence of every artistic quality. Paul Sandby, Michael Angelo Rooker, Thomas Girtin, John Varley, are names known only to the few, and the many may willingly continue to remain in ignorance. The first of the water-color painters who put any brilliancy, color, or "go" into his work was John Sell Cotman, for whose sketches and studies wall-space might profitably be found in any great gallery, British, Continental, or American. With his exquisite cloud effects, his beauty of line, his brilliant color, and, above all, his fine technical qualities—his simplicity and breadth—he stands head and shoulders above his niggling contemporaries. After him come David Cox, whose work is often enough niggled and messed, though occasionally he rises to larger methods; Turner, who here is seen at his most commonplace, there being nothing so good as his Swiss and Italian sketches, which are just now exhibited for the first time in the basement rooms at the National Gallery; Peter de Wint, sadly mediocre; William Hunt, a true British sentimentalist in his subjects, who worked carefully and conscientiously, but who was without the least artistic sense; Samuel Prout, chromo-like in his most telling effects; Samuel Palmer, who lacked the power of giving artistic expression to his really fine poetic feeling for nature; John Frederick Lewis, whose study of detail was marvellous, but whose technique was atrocious. Three lovely little Boningtons break this long uninteresting series; in their crispness, their brightness, their out-door atmosphere, their successful rendering of an impression by the simplest means and without the least suggestion of painstaking but misdirected labor, they, by the contrast, do but emphasize the inefficiency of the Hunts and Palmers and Prouts.

The last of the list is Frederick Walker, who holds a place, as it were, alone. For while he, too, unlike Cotman and Bonington, elaborated his details and worked everything out to the last degree of finish—while to really see all that he has put on his paper one must use a magnifying-glass—he had a keen artistic perception, and, by his own plodding methods, in the end succeeded in getting what he wanted. His color is often very rich, his draughtsmanship good, his figures beautiful in line and pose. But as a whole, and looked at from the least distance, his drawings are far from satisfying; and often when you do study them microscopically, you find a curious carelessness in the very details to which he apparently devoted all thought and energy. In the "Harbor of Refuge," the most important work, the man is mowing with the scythe in his wrong hand, and daisies are wide open long after sundown. How an artist who seems to have studied his subjects so seriously could make such blunders, is unaccountable. Similar blemishes occur in other pictures.

Here also are the "Wayfarers," the "Girl Driving Geese," the "Vale of Rest," the "Ferry," so well known by the etchings. I had never seen the originals before, and at first could not understand my disappointment. But the truth is, the reproductions simplify the effect of the drawings to a certain extent; the details of color at least are left out in the black-and-white copies.

If this collection really does illustrate the progress of water color in England, then it proves very conclusively that, from Cotman to Fred Walker, the art made no advance. Nor has there been much improvement from the time of Fred Walker to our own day, except in the marvellous work now being done by the younger Scotchmen, by Mr. Alfred Parsons and one or two other Englishmen.

THE SCIENTIFIC WORK OF THE LATE DR. SCHLIEMANN.

ROME, January 14, 1891.

DR. CARL SCHUCHARDT of Hanover has written a book on the scientific work of Dr. Schliemann. It is a summary of the assumptions and presumptions in favor of the theories which the renowned excavator put forward touching the significance of the various discoveries he made. Now that his work is done and he himself gone from the effect of either proof or disproof of those theories, and from the pain scientific condemnation would inflict if scientific criticism should result in condemnation, it is worth while to examine impartially the evidence on the subject, and see if some definite value can be given to his discoveries.

Two facts have long been agreed on by most scientific archæologists, viz., that the Doctor, in all the interesting discoveries he has made, has not determined a single point with scientific definiteness, and that he had no conception of scientific method in his researches. He set out with the purpose of finding a particular thing, and, when he found something, decided that it was what he sought for. His enthusiasm was great and his love of classic associations absorbing, while his liberal use of the fortune he had acquired in his researches gave him a right to the honor he has received, and to the intimate association with Homer and the great Greek epoch which will always be his. But the interests of science are of greater weight than any personal merits; and while we may yield him all the credit due to the most romantic of classic discoverers, we are not thereby led to accept his conclusions as to his discoveries. That he was utterly wanting in scientific purpose and even elementary training was made clear from his first book on Homeric precincts, in which he gave the result of his researches in the Peloponnesus, Ithaca, and the Troad, where he gravely fixes the early Cyclopean ruin on Mt. Ætos as the palace of Ulysses, and the curious chambers in it, distinctly a part of the fortifications, as the pig-pens of Eumæus; identifying the decayed stump of a huge tree which stood at the corner of the citadel as the remains of the tree from which Ulysses made his bed, etc. This book proves his constitutional incapacity to perceive the indispensable characters of scientific evidence, for he sees a mutilated inscription on a stone, transcribes it so incorrectly that no sense could ever be found in it, and then puts it down as an inscription on a sarcophagus of which he gives the exact dimensions with illustrations of objects which he says were found in it. But the facts were that he only found the half of the inscription, copied it without understanding its epoch or meaning, or that it was made certainly not later than the fifth century B. C., while the coin he engraves as among the contents is a late Achaian one; moreover, as I learned in rediscovering the inscription some time after entire, it had nothing to do with mortuary records, but was a mural tablet, and, according to the declaration of the men who found it and showed it to us both, nothing was found with it, as might be expected.

The romantic sentiment so dominated all else in him that he could not recognize the value of a merely scientific datum. In his first examination of Mycenæ he found no indication of what he sought for, and walked over the graves which since have been the puzzle of the archæological world. When he first went to Troy he set to work on the hill of Bunarbashi and dug there, finding nothing, till Calvert, who had been digging at Hissarlik and had exhausted his means, advised him to continue his work there, as there were indications of finds to be made, Calvert having already made some discoveries. He discovers several strata of débris, in the third of which he

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finds objects of gold and silver, whereupon he dubs *that* Troy and the find, Priam's treasure. But, digging further, he finds that there are indications of two strata of ruin underneath, and concludes that the nearest one must be Priam's Troy, the lowest being that which was destroyed by Hercules before Priam. As the identification of the site has been the principal discovery of Schliemann claimed as scientific, it will be interesting to review the evidence on the question adduced when the conditions were more favorable than they are now to a sound decision.

Strabo (Book 13, ii, 32-45) describes the plain of Troy as it was in his day, and gives us a résumé of the discussions which the attempts to determine the site had given rise to even before him. The site of Hissarlik was then occupied by the city of New Ilium, and the dispute was hot between its inhabitants and the Greeks of Hellas proper as to the identity of the site with that of Homer's Troy. With the advantage of living at the beginning of our era, when all the classics of the prior centuries were accessible and the local traditions still living, he says:

"The two plains, the Scamandrian and the Simoisian, are separated by a long spur of mountain extending perpendicularly to the point of intersection of the two arms of Ida, from New Ilium, which seems to be part of it, to Cebrenia, and, with the two arms, forming the letter E. A little above is the Ilium-Comé, or village of the Ilians, which occupies, according to common belief, the site of ancient Ilium, and is thirty stadia from the modern Ilium. *Ten stadia above Ilium-Comé we reach* Calli-Colone, a mountain about five stadia in circuit, and of which Simois bathes the foot. This disposition of the localities gives the most satisfactory explanation of many passages of the 'Iliad' and especially of that which relates to the god Mars: 'on the other side, coming down like the dark storm, he encourages the Trojans, now shouting with his penetrating voice from the highest point of the citadel, now running along the Simois on the ridge of Calli-Colone.' And in effect, the combat, going on in the plain of the Scamander, the poet could, without loss of actuality, show us Mars exciting the Trojans, first from the summit of the acropolis, then from other stations in the neighborhood of the city, such as the banks of the Simois and the ridge of Calli-Colone, to which point the combat evidently might extend; whereas, at the distance of forty stadia which separates Calli-Colone from New Ilium, one asks the utility of making the god pass from the summit of the acropolis to points so far away that it is evident that the combatants would never be able to reach them. This other detail, 'on the side of Thymbra is the camp assigned to the Lycians,' is equally in accord with the site of ancient Ilium, a site well known to be near the plain of Thymbra and the course of the Thymbrius, which, at the bottom of the plain, near the temple of the Thymbrian Apollo, empties into the Scamander, while the same plain is at least fifty stadia from the New Ilium."

Then follows a dissertation on the impossibility of the movements of the 'Iliad' taking place on the plain between Hissarlik and the sea-shore, all of which is of the highest interest to students of the question. Reference is also made to the extension of the land by the alluvium beyond its ancient limit, and Strabo adds:

"Demetrius [of Skepsis, a prior disputant on the question] invokes on this point the testimony of Hestius, the famous grammarian, a native of Alexandria, who, in his commentary on the 'Iliad' of Homer, asks if really the vicinity of the present city of Ilium could have been the theatre of the war between the Greeks and Trojans, and where, in that case, one must seek the plain of Troy which the poet describes between the city and the sea, since it is known that all the land before the present city has been formed at a later period by the floods of the rivers. And Polites, 'the Trojan spy, who, confiding in his speed as a runner, had come to take his position on the tomb of the old Æsyetes'—Polites on the same ground would have been a simpleton, because, though he had there a spying-place certainly very high, could, by going up on the acropolis [of the New Ilium] see, the enemy from a point much higher and from almost as near, and would not have been obliged to calculate only on his quickness of foot for his safety, the tomb of Æsyetes being (and it can still be seen on the road to Alexandria) *only five stadia from the acropolis* of New Ilium. And finally the triple race of Hector around the city must appear equally absurd, for the rocky ridge which comes down to the present city would positively prevent the circuit. The circuit of the old city was, on the contrary, perfectly free. But it will be asked, How is it that no remains exist of the ancient Ilium? Nothing is more natural, because all the neighboring cities having only been devastated without having been completely destroyed, while Ilium had been razed to the foundations, they were obliged to take from it the very last stone to repair the others. We are assured, for example, that Archæanax of Mitylene took from Ilium all the stone he needed to fortify Sigeum, which did not hinder Sigeum from falling later into the hands of the Athenians commanded by Phrynon, who took the prize at the Olympic games.

"As to the total destruction of Ilium, which the Ilians of to-day deny, Homer expressly states it. . . . And on their side, many modern authors certify the destruction of the ancient Ilium. The orator Lycurgus, for example, having occasion to pronounce the name of Ilium, says: 'Who is he that has not heard that from the day when the city was destroyed by the Greeks, it ceased for ever to be inhabited?' It is presumed that those who later had the idea of rebuilding Ilium decided that the ancient site had become an accursed place, either on account of the misfortunes of which it had been the theatre, or on account of the curses that Agamemnon had launched against Ilium, following in that a very ancient custom, which Crœsus observed when, after having taken and destroyed Sidene, last refuge of the tyrant Glaucias, he pronounced a solemn curse against those who should ever attempt to reconstruct its walls. In any case it was always believed that it was obligatory to abandon the primitive site of Ilium, and they sought another to build the new city. First, the Astypaleans of Rhœteum chose a site near the Simois and built there Polium (or, as it is now called, Polisma); but, the position not being sufficiently strong, the new settlement was soon ruined. Later, at the time of the Lydian conquest, the present Ilium with its temple was built, but it could not be called a city, and only merited this name long after, having grown slowly and by degrees. Hellanicus, indeed, affirms that the new and the old Ilium were only one city, but this is evidently to flatter the inhabitants of Ilium, which he had always the desire to do. As to the territory which was divided after the destruction of Troy by the Sigeans, the Rhœteans, and others, it was only restored after the construction of the new Ilium."

What, then, was the mass of ruins in which Schliemann found the Troy of Homer? He believed that he could distinguish five distinct strata of ruin, indicating as many successive occupations of the site. But in the lowest of these he found constructions of brick, which was absolutely unknown in the archaic times in which Troy is supposed to have been constructed, and which was apparently a strange material in the times when the Lydian conquest took place, for it is recorded that the Greeks wondered at Crœsus building his palace at Susa with bricks. This corresponds with the statement of Strabo that the first city on that site was built in the epoch of Crœsus (Book 13, i., 25): "According to the testimony of many historians, Ilion was moved several times before fixing itself, about the epoch of Crœsus, in the locality it occupies to-day." And ibid., 27: "As to the modern Ilium, it only half merited the name of a city when the Romans for the first time set foot in Asia and drove out Antiochus the Great from all the country this side the Taurus." Here we have the first conquest, though, according to the testimony of Demetrius of Skepsis, it was then a miserable village, the houses of which were hardly covered with tiles. Strabo continues:

"Hegesianax, in his turn, relates how the Galatians, after their passage from Europe to Asia, ascended to Ilium in the hope of finding the fortified refuge they needed, but soon left it, not having even found a surrounding wall. In the succeeding time, it is true, the state of the city was greatly improved and changed, but it had much to endure from the Romans under Fimbria, who, in their war against Mithridates, laid siege to it and took it by storm. Fimbria had accompanied as quæstor the Consul Valerius Flaccus, appointed to make war on Mithridates, but once in Bithynia he excited a mutiny and killed the Consul, assumed the command and marched to Ilium, and, on the refusal of the city to admit a brigand like him, he laid siege and took it in ten days. . . . On this Sylla landed in Asia; he put Fimbria to death, and, having concluded with Mithridates a treaty which forced that prince to return to his own States, he indemnified the Ilians by according to the city important repairs."

We have, therefore, four captures of the city before the Christian era, to say nothing of what may have occurred during the subsequent wars of the Romans with the revolting tribes of Asia Minor, so that we can easily account for all the débris dug through by Schliemann. The testimony of Strabo is clear and stated in accordance with historical method, and there is no reason to reject it, for nothing in the discoveries made on the locality can be held as an argument of equal force. There is no indication, in the ruins exposed by the excavations of the Doctor, of a city of the archaic epoch, while at Bunarbashi there are remains of foundations of Pelasgic structures, examined and reported on by Hahn. Whether the site of Bunarbashi agrees with the indications of Homer is a question apart. Neither of the rival sites may be free from all objection, but the utter want of archaic work at the Hissarlik site is conclusive against it, for work of that character is found at the other and in many other places in the Troad. The city which once stood on Bunarbashi may have been that which the author of the 'Iliad' had in mind in the construction of the poem as that believed in his time to have been Troy. That on Hissarlik cannot have been, for, if there is any evidence worth weighing on the matter, it was not built till after the poem had been written, whoever wrote it. The manner of construction agrees with the indications of Strabo, and Strabo accounts for the absence of ruins at Bunarbashi, and meets all the objections which Schliemann made on that ground.

Again, taking the latest critical authority as well as the greatest in all that relates to the Homeric unities, Prof. Jebb ('Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey'), the summary of the arguments is equally decisive against the Troy of Schliemann being the Troy of Homer:

"The 'Iliad' shows a personal acquaintance with the plain of Troy and with the dominant features of the surrounding landscape. In the site of Troy as described by Homer the capital feature is the acropolis — 'lofty,' 'windy,' 'beetling'—with those precipitous crags over which it was proposed to hurl the wooden horse. This suits one site only in the Trojan plain—that above the village of Bunarbashi on the lower slopes of the hills which fringe the plains to the south. Here the hill called the Bali Dagh rises some 400 feet above the plain, with sheer sides descending on the south and southwest to the valley of the Menderé [Scamander] A little northwest of Homeric Troy two natural springs arose. A little to northwest of Bunarbashi these springs still exist, and no others like them exist anywhere else in the plain. As Prof. Ernst Curtius well says, 'This pair of rivulets is the immutable mark of nature, by which the height towering above is recognized as the citadel of Ilium.' Though the site at Bunar-

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bashi has not yet been thoroughly explored, pottery has been found there which is referred to 1000—900 B. C. Since Le Chevalier's visit in 1785, the striking features of agreement between Bunarbashi and the Homeric picture of Troy—features unique in the Trojan plain—have been emphatically recognized by a series of the most competent observers, including Leake, Moltke, Forchhammer, Kiepert, Ernst Curtius, and Tozer. Leake remarked that any person at all accustomed to observe the sites of Greek towns must fix on Bunarbashi 'for the site of the chief place of the surrounding country.' The same opinion was expressed to Prof. E Curtius by Count Moltke, 'that he knew no other site in the Trojan plain for a chief town of ancient time.' The low mound of Hissarlik stands in the open plain, about three miles from the Hellespont. It measures some 325 by 235 yards, and stands only some 112 feet above the plain. This mound marks the site of a historical Greek town to which the first settlers gave the name of 'Ilium' (perhaps about 700 B. C), and which existed here down to Roman times. In the mound have been discovered (1) remains of this Greek town, (2) some prehistoric remains. Dr. Schliemann asserts that the prehistoric remains are those of Homeric Troy. If this means that they represent a town which gave rise to the legend of Troy, the assertion is one which can no longer be either proved or disproved. No objects found at Hissarlik tend in the slightest degree to prove it. On the other hand, one important fact is certain: the low site at Hissarlik is in the strongest contrast with the site of spacious and 'lofty' Troy as described by Homer, while the site at Bunarbashi is as strikingly in harmony with that description."

Space does not allow me to extract the whole of the exhaustive demonstration of Prof. Jebb that the site of Hissarlik cannot have been that of Troy, which (whether we take it as the real city of the Homeric legend or the localization of it by the author of that legend, going to the site attributed to that legendary city in search of some features which would serve for the construction of the poem, and basing the action of the drama on local study) must have been Bunarbashi. The whole discussion has this distinct result, that it makes clear Schliemann's method of demonstration, viz., that, having set out to find traces of the heroic age, when he found some objects of value he decided that this was what he set out to find. He was incapable of estimating the significance of archæological evidence, and his identification of Troy is of no scientific value whatever. If his theories were to be accepted as valid, they would make confusion of all archæology based on the character of objects discovered in similar excavations.

The same general objection may be brought against the hypothesis that the tombs discovered at Mycenæ are of Achaian inhumation. There is not a single coincidence with the recorded characteristics of the Homeric customs of burial, nor a single positive indication of the archaic or even prehistorical date of it. The recent discovery in the immediate vicinity of Mycenæ of many tombs of the tholos type, similar to the great domed tombs long known at the gates of the Agamemnonian city; the discovery in them of some classes of objects included in the miscellaneous collection found in the graves opened by Schliemann; and the later magnificent discovery by Mr. Tsoundas of an untouched and evidently royal tomb of the Achaian epoch near Spata—a tomb which, for reasons not necessary to my present argument, we must consider prior to the Dorian occupation of the Peloponnesus—give us positive data from which to commence an appreciation of the provenance of the treasures found in the Schliemann tombs and the nature of the interment itself. The fact that the principal personage in the cemetery found by Schliemann was a woman, is a positive indication of barbaric presence. The masks of gold on the faces of the dead, only found in barbaric graves hitherto; the extraordinary diversity of the objects found, some of which certainly cannot be attributed to the arts of classic Greece, and must be assigned to the later centuries of Greek nationality, if Greek at all, while some of the most important agree perfectly with those found in the tomb at Pharis; the fact that in the construction of the structures about the Schliemann tomb, and prior to it, the débris of the ancient city appear; and, above all, the nature of the grave itself, surmounted by a quasi-Druidical circle, and utterly unlike any grave of Greek custom of any epoch and especially those which have been discovered at Mycenæ—forbid the attribution of the inhumation to any Hellenic source, while they are all reconcilable with the hypothesis that the interments were those of the chiefs of a tribe of barbarians established at Mycenæ in the interval between its destruction by Argos and its reoccupation by Greeks (which the inscriptions found by Tsoundas prove to have been effected before the time of Nabis, tyrant of Sparta). These barbarians had presumably robbed the tombs around Mycenæ, deriving from them the greater part of the treasures found by Schliemann, if not the whole. Schliemann's interpretation runs against continuous insoluble difficulties, while this, especially since the late discoveries by Tsoundas, meets every fact in the case.

Remains the Tirynthian discovery, with regard to which the discussion is not yet beaten out, and in which I have taken too prominent a part to be a dispassionate disputant, perhaps. But here it is not Schliemann who is mainly in view, but Dr. Dörpfeld. To the opinions of Dörpfeld on all that relates to classical architecture as far back as architecture can be said to be an art, no one defers more completely than I; but I am no more willing to accept his decisions on a matter of prehistoric structure, a subject to which I have given many years of study, than I should be willing to oppose my judgment to his on a question of temple or theatre structure. The whole question turns on two considerations—the architectural characters of the Homeric or pre-Homeric house, the evidence concerning which is purely literary, and the material of construction. On the former I defer to those who have made the texts of the early Greek literature a special study, not pretending myself to have a judgment thereon. The following is the conclusion of Jebb's thorough discussion of the question in the "Tiryns" appendix of his 'Homer,' already referred to:

"All the Homeric evidence tends to show that the Homeric house is the prototype of the later Greek house of the historical age. A dwelling on the supposed Tirynthian plan differs from this Greek type in a vital respect. By placing the women in a practically separate house, with a separate egress, it fails to provide for their seclusion in the sense in which ancient Greek feeling required it. The space which has here been given to this subject is amply justified by its importance in two general aspects. First, the interpretation of the 'Odyssey' is reduced to chaos if these fragmentary house-walls at Tiryns, of doubtful age and origin, are accepted as at once sufficient to upset all the plainest evidence of the Homeric text. Secondly, this case is typical of a tendency which, in the interests alike of archæology and scholarship, is to be deprecated. No one questions the intrinsic interest and value of the Tiryns remains, whatever may be their date or source. Nor is the classical scholarship of the present day at all disposed to neglect the invaluable light derived from classical archæology. But when, as at Tiryns, it is sought to bring monuments into relation with texts, then the difficulties which those texts present should be either fairly answered or frankly allowed."

In another place Prof. Jebb says:

"Dr. Dörpfeld speaks with acknowledged weight when he speaks as an architect on a question of ancient architecture. But the attempt to dispose of the literary evidence of the 'Odyssey,' to which he devotes a few lines at p. 227 of 'Tiryns,' is grotesquely superficial. It could not have been offered or accepted by any one who had even a rudimentary idea of what is meant by an adequate examination of literary evidence."

On the other point, the material employed in the construction of the house at Tiryns, I claim a right to pronounce a valid opinion because I have qualified myself by rigorous examination of many ancient structures in Greece and in Italy to do so. And I unhesitatingly say that the manner of construction and the materials employed are such as were never employed in classical structures, prior to the fourth century B. C. at all events, and have not been found in any building the date of which is determinable by historical evidence prior to the Roman conquest. The employment of material derived from the ruins of the Tiryns of the early epoch in the later building, which is evident, proves only, what nobody denies, that there was an ancient city there, and possibly of the Homeric date; but the constant use of the stone-saw proves that this material cannot have been earlier than the seventh or, at most, eighth century B. C., as we know approximately the date of the introduction of the stone-saw. But there are, as I have repeatedly pointed out to visitors with me to the ruins, bricks of good manufacture, well burnt and laid in mortar, in the walls which Dr. Dörpfeld has put as the walls of the palace. Now, burnt brick and mortar are not found in any ancient house in my experience, and the distinct statement of Philios, the most experienced excavator of Greek ruins living, is to the same effect. "The presence of mortar in any building," he says, "is conclusive against its belonging to the classical epoch."

I do not care to reconcile the contradictions which have grown out of the question, and for none of which I am responsible; nor do I concern myself about the omission to note this fact on the part of the excavators. Its actuality I have proved by breaking off, in the presence of members of the Archæological Society of Athens, a fragment of the wall indicated in Dörpfeld's plan as that of the ancient palace, and I am ready to repeat the proof. On this point I do not make any discussion. If, therefore, the plan of the building is not, as Prof. Jebb says, Homeric, and the material used includes elements unknown to remote antiquity, there is but one conclusion possible, viz., that the attribution to the Homeric epoch of the house at Tiryns has no scientific value, and that its reference to the classical era is even disputable; and I hold that there is no evidence whatever to justify the assignment of it to any period earlier than the admitted Byzantine buildings on the site, of the Byzantine origin of which there can be no doubt, for they contain a chapel and graves of well-known type. Except for the employment of the massive ancient material in the construction of what appears to be the chief house of the settlement, there is nothing to distinguish one part of the architecture from the other, and it evidently all belongs to the same period, viz., the latter part of the Byzantine rule, as is indicated by the fragments of Byzantine pottery with which the site abounded, and of which the most characteristic are preserved in the Greek archives.

The general conclusion, from which there is no escape, and which is of the highest impor-

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tance in future study, is that the archæological conclusions of Dr. Schliemann cannot be accepted as scientific deductions, and that, while he has added immensely to the material from which science may draw useful results, his own method of investigation is utterly fallacious, and has never led to any conclusive scientific results. We must respect his memory for his enthusiasm and his liberality in his pursuit of Homeric traditions, but we may not permit this to mislead us in the study of archæology, remaining *amicus Platonis sed major amicus veritatis.* W. J. STILLMAN.

Correspondence.

WANTED—AN HONEST-MONEY ASSOCIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of January 22 you say: "We believe that there is a sufficient body of public opinion in the country to beat the Free-Coinage Bill and eventually to put an end to the present dangerous Silver Law (of which nobody is really in favor except as a compromise), if that public opinion is ever organized and properly directed."

Probably all but confirmed "silverites" or pessimists on principle will agree with this, yet it must be admitted that intelligent public opinion in favor of honest money based on a gold standard has never made itself heard or felt to any adequate extent, and that ever since the law of 1878 first stamped light-weight dollars with the hypocritical "In God we Trust," the demands of the silver-producers and of the advocates of the rather indefinite "debtor class" have grown more persistent, one may even say impudent, with every concession made to them. Even now, with the dangers of a sudden drop to the silver standard staring us in the face, many of the anti-free-coinage resolutions recently passed have a half-hearted and doubting sound, as if the present law were right enough and free coinage the only evil to be feared; while only those who have had some experience in securing investments on a gold basis can realize how blind the mass of the people are to the fact that there is anything unstable in the widely differing values of our double standard.

The reason for this extraordinary lethargy of public opinion can scarcely fail to be that it has never been either organized or directed in the least. That American citizens should hold sound views on the currency, and require their representatives to vote accordingly, is primarily their own business—that is, nobody's business—and unless a certain number of men will band together and make it *their* business to propagate such views, and show Congress that the people think honest money for us all more desirable than large profits for silver-miners, or even a partial repudiation of the liabilities of the "debtor class," the present movement towards free coinage will not easily be checked.

We have often seen how public affairs may be affected, sometimes practically directed, by the action of private citizens working together to arouse public opinion. The Anti-Slavery Society, the Reform Club with its committees, the Civil-Service Reform Associations, the Indian-Rights Association, and many others have made and are making their mark upon our institutions; and just such work as theirs is needed in regard to the currency. Meetings like that at Boston are invaluable, but there is need of continuous agitation through the newspapers, by short pamphlets showing what a change in the currency practically means, by appeals to investors of moderate means and to workingmen, and in various ways familiar to those who have worked in other lines of reform. The *Nation* and other papers are active in enlightening the public mind on this subject just now, but their work would be made much more effective if aided by the systematic and continuous activity of an organization.

One may well hesitate to urge any addition to the present number of reform associations, and perhaps some existing organization can do the work. The Constitution of the Reform Club refers to "sound currency" as one of its principles, and a committee of that active body, with the experience and knowledge of methods gained by the Tariff-Reform Committee, might supply that vital force which the party of honest money seems to lack. Possibly the leading spirits of that society may already have decided to act, but whether it be done by them or others, there ought to be some organization of the sound-currency forces to withstand the reckless assaults of the champions of fiat money. CHARLES C. BINNEY.

PHILADELPHIA, January 24, 1891.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: That the recent action of the Senate of the United States in favor of the free coinage of silver has given alarm throughout the country to men who have had a large experience in business will hardly be doubted. Is that alarm reasonable?

A brief examination of the successive coinage laws of the United States and of the last report of the Director of the Mint will satisfy any of your readers that the following statements are true, and substantially accurate. If they are true, there should be little wonder at the shock which the recent action of the Senate has given to men of business.

By the Act of 1792, establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States, free coinage of both gold and silver was provided for, and the ratio of fifteen to one was fixed, that being very nearly the market ratio of gold and silver at that time. After many fluctuations of the market values of the two metals, during more than forty years, gold was at a premium, and the coinage difficulties of the United States had become so serious that in 1834 a new ratio of sixteen to one between gold and silver was fixed by law, that being very nearly the market ratio at that time. To bring the two metals into use again as coin, the amount of pure gold in the dollar was reduced, while the amount of pure silver was left as before. Our par of exchange with London was thus altered from 4.44 to 4.8665, and our dollar was no longer worth as much as before in the world's market.

Before the end of another twenty years the coinage troubles of the United States were again serious, owing to the great production of California gold. Silver was at a premium, and in 1853 our only fractional currency was being rapidly melted up. To save ourselves we bought silver, and from that time coined debased fractional money in limited amounts, having, however, the good sense to limit its legal-tender quality to small payments. The legal ratio of gold and silver was not changed, and the coinage of standard silver dollars remained free, but the price of silver was so high that for the next twenty years less than $250,000 of standard silver dollars were coined yearly, on the average.

The law of 1873, by which the free coinage of silver was formally abandoned, was not opposed by the people of the United States, silver being then at a premium in gold, as it had been for more than twenty years, and both being at a premium in legal-tender paper. The double standard had proved in practice to be a delusion.

Since 1873 the fall in the price of silver has been so great—the production from American and other silver mines having rapidly increased in spite of the fall in price—that in 1889 a legal ratio of twenty-two to one would have been needed to keep both metals in circulation with free coinage. If we should now give free coinage to silver as well as gold on the old ratio of sixteen to one, it is idle to hope that both could stay in use as money. We should be obliged to again lessen the amount of gold in our dollar, as we did in 1834, leaving it far below that with which we started less than a hundred years ago.

What the business men of the country fear, if the Senate bill now becomes law, is first a great shock to credit, and then, in one way or another, a currency debased and uncertain, with the evils that have always followed such a currency in this and in every other country. A great London merchant once said, impatiently, to a young friend: "I have tried hard to teach you what credit is. I believe it is hopeless to try. Credit is not money. It is the result of a long course of honorable dealing."

Let us pray that the United States will not now permit a delusive cry for more money to lead it to the destruction of its high credit.

H. C.

BOSTON, January 26, 1891.

"SHERMAN'S SHAM."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The attitude of Senator Sherman on the silver question calls forth hearty praise from the *Nation*. In this, I take it, you express only in part the sentiments of many of your readers. There must be in the minds of many a feeling of deep regret that the Senator has put it out of his power to do the country the service which it has a right to demand from him. His attitude towards the epidemic insanity of protectionism makes his attitude towards any other form of epidemic insanity a matter of comparative indifference. When he compelled us to call him a protectionist, he made it impossible to regard any of his opinions as those of an economist.

Again, thousands of the editors and politicians who have been preaching protection since the nomination of Harrison, would have greatly preferred to speak their real convictions. If the Chicago Convention had decided in favor of free trade, they would have been ardent free-traders by this time. Can these gentlemen be made to believe that John Sherman is any more sincere in advocating protection than they are? If so, they are prepared to believe that he is sincere in denouncing silver inflation.

"The great party to which I belong," says Senator Sherman. It is the curse of this country that it is governed by men who belong to parties. No great man ever belonged to a party. Parties belong to great men, who use them as instruments for the accomplishment of great ends. The man who belongs to a party ceases to belong to the nation and humanity, to truth and freedom and justice.

A. F. H.

GRANVILLE, O., January 26, 1891.

AN "INDIAN" OUTRAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: No right-thinking man who has lived

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any length of time among the Indians of the Northwest can fail to be thankful for the manly plea in their behalf made by Father Craft, the heroic priest at Pine Ridge Agency. There are bad Indians, but there has been a considerable class among them who have been striving to be sober, upright men. Every instinct of right and justice demanded that these should be protected in their unequal struggle with the whites, as well for the sake of the Indians themselves as to save border settlers from the terrible vengeance sure to overtake them when a long series of heartless dealings on the part of the Government or of the settlers reawakens the inherited instincts of hundreds of years. I make no arraignment of white settlers as a class. But on the border there are always hot-heads who will embroil a whole community by their foolish and wicked acts. As at present there is a surfeit of accounts of Indian outrages, perhaps an account of an outrage of another sort may open the eyes of people who, while justly sympathizing with frontier ranchers, have no sympathy for the Indians.

On the Colville Reservation, an immense tract of land between the British line and Columbia and Okanogan Rivers, there are between eight hundred and a thousand Indians. Chief Moses, who has about two hundred Indians, is personally well disposed towards the whites, but his tribe belongs to the heathen Indians who are impatient of control. There are three hundred Indians on the Okanogan, ruled by chiefs Simitkin and Antone, Antone having been chosen by his tribe when their former chief Tenascott left to live on the Colville or eastern side of the reservation. Joseph, the remaining chief, is a fiery warrior who is never suffered to go abroad without an escort of Indian police.

Antone's Indians and Simitkin's are Christians, and, as I know from my own observation, have so far been law-abiding, peaceable people, living on their farms and coming together three or four times a year for a few days to attend Mass and other religious exercises. At such times there has been no drunkenness, profanity, nor gambling. The chiefs would every day harangue their tribes on the evils to which they were exposed (notably white men's whiskey) and exhort them to be good upright men and women lest their race be utterly destroyed. There would be service in the church three or four times a day, and finally, after a grand hand-shaking, the Indians separated to their homes. There are a few renegades, disliked by the Indians themselves, who go to horse-races, gamble, and do what they can to justify the adage concerning a good Indian.

Last fall a man named Cole disappeared while crossing the reservation. An Indian, undoubtedly his murderer, was arrested, and, on forcibly resisting the sheriff, shot. It was supposed there was another culprit, but he was never found, and now probably never will be. About a week ago at the Okanogan Mission a young Indian came out of the church with the priest. A number of the tribe were there, and one of them, stepping up, asked him if he knew anything about the murder to tell them. The priest then said: "Tell exactly what happened." Here follows his story:

He was riding the range after stock, and fell in with two other Indians. The others had whiskey, and they all drank. The three rode on together until they overtook Cole. They stopped and talked awhile, until finally a quarrel arose, and Cole got down from his wagon and started for them with an axe. The boy had just ridden around to have the wagon between himself and the others when he heard a shot. Without looking to see the result, he put spurs to his horse, and never stopped until he reached Chief Simitkin's, fifteen miles away. He added that he could identify the murderer, still at large, and could tell who sold the Indians the whiskey.

Hereupon he was advised to surrender to the authorities. Word was sent to Conconnully, the county seat, and an officer went to the reservation and promised that no harm should befall the boy, whom he took back to Conconnully. The justice who heard the case refusing to give bail, a writ of habeas corpus was issued by the Court Commissioner. The only apology for evidence offered was that, after the murder, two drunken Indians were seen in the vicinity, and the boy could not be identified as one of them. The Commissioner fixed bail at $1,000, and the prisoner was remanded to the county jail.

At two o'clock on the morning of January 8, ten masked men forced an entrance into the jailer's bed-room, and, covering him with their revolvers, compelled him to go to the jail and open the cage in which the prisoner was confined. They then took this poor boy—a mere child, fourteen years old—threw a rope about his neck, and led him, scantily clothed and barefooted, through the snow, in the piercing winter weather, outside the town. The rope was flung over a bough, and the miscreants pulled until they had raised him off the ground. They fastened the rope and left him dead.

The most plausible reason for this infamous night's work is that certain persons feared exposure for whiskey-selling to Indians. All chance of discovering the second murderer of Cole is destroyed. The Indians are furious; and who can wonder? While the officer who brought the boy in from the reservation most unwisely exceeded his powers in promising him freedom again, still it must seem to the Indians that all of us whites deliberately participated in a lie that we might get one more of them in our power and kill him. They believe, and with too much reason, that there can be no law nor justice for one of themselves, but that the whites are leagued together to kill them whenever they can do so without discovery.

This is not the first time that settlers have owed their scalps to the priests. There has been no outbreak, and the chances are overwhelmingly against one; but the ranchers in distant parts of the country are safe only because of the influence of the Jesuit Father de Rongé, and the Christian chiefs.

HENRY A. THAYER.

LOOP LOOP, OKANOGAN CO., WASH., January 15, 1891.

WOMEN AT JOHNS HOPKINS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The writer of the letter entitled "Women at the Johns Hopkins," published in last week's *Nation*, makes certain statements that are likely to mislead the friends of women's education who are unacquainted with the true position of affairs in Baltimore. I beg, therefore, to be permitted to draw attention to the following points. Your correspondent, when he finds "retrogression as well as progression" in the policy of the Hopkins Trustees, ignores the all-important fact that they accepted the precise terms proposed to them by the committees of women that had organized themselves from Boston to New Orleans and from Baltimore to San Francisco, for the purpose of preferring this request to the University. The words used by the Committees—"that women whose previous training has been equivalent to the preliminary medical course shall be admitted to the school, when it shall open, upon the same terms which may be prescribed for men"—were expressly designed to restrict their request to the Medical School proper. Whatever fault is to be found should be found rather with those who asked than with those who gave all that was asked. The Trustees' cordial words of acceptance are especially significant, in that there is as yet no legal provision made for women physicians in the asylums and penitentiaries of Maryland:

"This Board is satisfied that in hospital practice among women, in penal institutions in which women are prisoners, in charitable institutions in which women are cared for, and in private life when women are to be attended, there is a need and place for learned and capable women physicians, and that it is the business and duty of the Board, when it is supplied with the necessary means for opening its proposed medical school, to make provision for the training and full qualification of such women for the abundant work which awaits them in these wide fields of usefulness."

The "Preliminary Medical Course," in regard to which your correspondent finds it necessary to have recourse to conjecture, was first organized by the University in 1882, and is given under that title in the index of all the succeeding university catalogues; it presupposes the ordinary college matriculation requirements in mathematics, Latin, history, science, and in either Greek or French and German; and its three years of collegiate work include advanced courses in French and German, five hours weekly of class work and five hours weekly of laboratory work for two years in both chemistry and biology, and five hours weekly of class work and three hours weekly of laboratory work for one year in physics. This course is the third (the chemical-biological group) of the seven undergraduate courses leading to the degree of B.A., and to open it to women would be to throw open the University without restriction, and to accept undergraduate coeducation in its fullest sense. The result would be not, as your correspondent seems to think, "that women who are to be trained jointly with men in hospital wards, in clinics, and in medical lecture-rooms" would "two years earlier receive instruction in common with them in physical, chemical, and biological laboratories" but that such women would meet in the class-rooms, not only their fellow "preliminary medical" students, but all the other undergraduates of the University; for one year of some science is required of all candidates for a degree, and the other years of science as well as the French and German courses are elected by other students at will.

To what extent in this or that institution a substitute may at present be found for the undergraduate instruction of the Johns Hopkins University, is difficult to discuss; but there are excellent schools of science already open to women, and it lies in the very nature of undergraduate instruction that its methods and its apparatus can be duplicated.

M. CAREY THOMAS.

BRYN MAWR, January 26, 1891.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM IN STATE LIBRARIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The attention of the friends of civil service reform should be directed to those States (particularly in the West) where the office of State librarian is still regarded as a part of the spoils belonging to the victors. The recent changes of State administrations make probable several decapitations of old and trained State librarians, to make place for inexpe-

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rienced persons, probably party-workers or favorites of the new administrations; unless the new Governors should follow the bright example of Gov. Boies of Iowa, last year, who recognized that it was good *politics*, as well as good *principle*, to regard the office of State Librarian as a non-partisan one, and retained the appointee of a former Republican Administration.

The proposition is now too well recognized to need argument, that the librarian should be a person *trained* to the work, or, in other words, that one cannot, at a 'few days' or weeks' notice, become competent to conduct the affairs of a large and important library, such as most of the State libraries now are, even in the newer States. The Association of State Librarians, at their meeting in St. Louis, in May, 1889, as a part of the work of reform in State library management and legislation which it has undertaken, resolved "that tenure of office [of State librarians] should be made dependent on efficiency solely, and not on changes of administration, political or otherwise." The influence of the various civil-service reform organizations, national and State, could be used to great advantage in this direction, to the benefit not only of their own cause, but to that of libraries as well.

T. L. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 26, 1891.

THE DISCOVERY OF ARISTOTLE'S CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A discovery of no small importance has just been made among a mass of papyrus-rolls recently acquired by the British Museum. This is nothing less than the almost complete text of Aristotle's 'Description of the Constitution of Athens.' I say the almost complete text because the opening is missing, and the concluding portion is badly mutilated. Apparently nothing could so well be spared as these missing portions, and certainly no part of Aristotle's collection of 158 constitutions could be more welcome than what has just been found —its first and most important chapter. Even those few who have thought that antiquity was wrong in attributing this work to Aristotle, will recognize the epoch-making importance of such an addition to our means of knowing Athenian constitutional history at first hand. Here we have an authority freely used by Plutarch, by Pollux, and by Harpocration as well as by many others, whose works have hitherto been our only possible source of information about vital questions concerning ancient Greek institutions. Facsimile reproductions of this newly found text will soon be published, and meanwhile it has been printed by order of the trustees of the British Museum, and will shortly appear with accompanying introduction and notes by Mr. Kenyon of the Department of Manuscripts.

As for evidences of its genuineness, they appear to be abundantly forthcoming. The possibility of entertaining a supposition that we have here a repetition of the Simonides-Shapira episode, of recent and painful memory, is entirely removed by the fact that, when the rolls in question were acquired, neither of the parties to the transaction dreamed of its importance to the learned world, or had the least idea that a treatise by Aristotle was involved. Even if this were not known to be the fact, a careful examination of the newly found text yields apparently such internal evidence as to be absolutely "conclusive." A competent and careful examination of the new text reveals the fact that of the fifty-eight citations from Aristotle's description of the Constitution of Athens definitely known in various ancient writers, fifty-five "occur with appropriate context in the text of the papyrus now in the British Museum." The absence of two out of the remaining three results from their occurrence at the beginning and the end respectively of the treatise, which fact precludes the possibility of finding them in this version, where the former is lacking and the latter is mutilated. One passage only of the fifty-eight in question remains still undiscovered in the papyrus-rolls just deciphered, or rather the corresponding passage there found presents serious discrepancies when confronted with it. Besides the fifty-eight fragments above referred to, where Aristotle's 'Athenian Constitution' is directly quoted, there are thirty-three other quotations which have been more or less conjecturally supposed to belong to that work. Of these all but ten occur on the newly found papyrus, and of the missing ten some probably have been wrongly connected with it, and others possibly are from its missing beginning or its mutilated end. Confirmation of the genuineness of the version written upon these papyrus rolls, and also further proof of the authenticity of the two papyrus fragments at Berlin, is found in the appearance of the contents of both these fragments upon the newly deciphered text.

Now that this latest philological windfall has proved for us its own authenticity, and saved the long labor of its defence, it would seem that the least to be required would be some strenuous effort in discovering its date. But this labor is also most considerately spared us. The approximate date of the new text can be known to any one who is competent to read the accounts of a private estate in Egypt, dated month by month in the eleventh year of Vespasian, which occupy what is technically called the *recto* of the British Museum papyrus. The text of Aristotle, written on the *verso* in four distinct hands, agrees with these accounts in certain minutely characteristic points, such as remarkable forms of letters and abbreviations. The date, then, is later than the eleventh year of Vespasian, and as early as accounts belonging to that year can supposably have lost their importance, say 95-100 A. D.

Apparently little will be added to our present knowledge of the picturesque side of Greek history by this new discovery or recovery; nothing is gained towards the enhancement of our realization of the intellectual primacy of Greece and Athens. But still certain blanks are filled in a way which will rejoice not the minute student of Greek constitutional history only, but every one who appreciates the Odyssean subtlety of a certain unconscientious type of Hellenic character well exemplified by the unscrupulous Athenian patriot Themistocles. Needed light is thrown upon the hitherto obscure nature of Draco's legislation, and the position of Solon and Pisistratus with regard to the development of Athenian democracy becomes more clear. Detailed information on all these points will be gathered from the forthcoming publication. Meanwhile readers of the *Nation* will doubtless be interested in the account of a hitherto unknown passage in the life of Themistocles, given by an eminent authority who takes it from the newly discovered text of Aristotle's 'Description of the Constitution of Athens':

"It appears that the final attack on the ancient council [of the Areopagus] was led by Ephialtes, and that it was delivered in the year 462 B. C. In this enterprise Ephialtes had a strange ally from among the members of the Areopagus itself, in no less a person than Themistocles. This somewhat tortuous politician was at that time under apprehension of a charge of Medism, which was being investigated by the Areopagus, and his share in the attack which was now being made upon that body consisted principally in hastening the course of events. Having first warned Ephialtes that the Areopagus was about to arrest him, Themistocles proceeded to the Areopagus and there denounced Ephialtes as being engaged in a conspiracy against the State, and offered to conduct a party to the house where the conspirators were assembled. On arriving at the house of Ephialtes, he managed that he should be seen talking with the members of the council who accompanied him. Ephialtes, thinking, no doubt, that the warning of Themistocles was being fulfilled, escaped and took refuge at the altar; but, realizing that his only chance of safety lay in taking the bull by the horns, he hurried to the Council of Five Hundred and made a violent attack on the Areopagus, presumably proposing to strip it at once of its peculiar powers. In this he was seconded by the versatile Themistocles, who no doubt was able to furnish some plausible explanation of his conduct. The matter was carried from the Council to the Ecclesia, and the attack was there completely successful. The Areopagus was deprived of all the rights which made it the general guardian of the State, and its functions were distributed between the Five Hundred, the Ecclesia, and the law courts."

LOUIS DYER.

LONDON, January 19, 1891.

Notes.

THE Historical Society of Pennsylvania is about to publish the Writings of John Dickinson, beginning with a Life of him which has been written by Dr. Charles J. Stillé. That the public at large may not be deprived of this work, a separate edition of the Life will be offered to the trade. It will be ready in a few weeks.

'Canada and the Canadian Question,' by Mr. Goldwin Smith; 'Literary Essays,' by Bishop Westcott of Durham; 'The Light that Failed,' by Rudyard Kipling; and 'Social Diseases and Worse Remedies,' Prof. Huxley's criticisms in the London *Times* on Gen. Booth's scheme, are in the press of Macmillan & Co.

Other letters to the *Times*, namely, by W. Laird Clowes, are to make a volume called 'Black America: A Study of the ex-Slave and his Late Master,' which Cassell & Co. will publish.

The late Prof. Thorold Rogers left behind him the materials for the concluding volumes of his 'History of Prices and Agriculture in England.' A single volume will be made of them by his son, Mr. Arthur G. L. Rogers, and issued in one volume by the Clarendon Press.

Charles Scribner's Sons announce 'Essays in Little,' by Andrew Lang; 'Original Charades,' set forth in verse, by L. B. R. Briggs; 'English Composition,' eight lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, by Prof. Barrett Wendell; and the sixth edition of the late Dr. Woolsey's 'Introduction to the Study of International Law,' brought up to date by his son, Theodore S. Woolsey.

A 'Life of Charles Brockden Brown, with a View of Post-Revolutionary Literature,' by Edward Irenæus Stevenson, is to be published by the Welsh, Fracker Co.

Ward, Lock & Co. have undertaken an *édition de luxe* of the 'Lyra Elegantiarum,' edited by Mr. Frederick Locker-Lampson and Mr. Coulson Kernahan. It will be limited to 250 copies, each signed by Mr. Locker-Lampson, whose portrait, by Sir John Millais, will form an etched frontispiece.

Paul Bourget's 'Un Cœur de Femme,' done into English by Camden Curwen, under the title, 'Was It Love?' will shortly be brought out by Worthington Co.

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Thomas Whittaker promises a series of "Studies in Christian Biography," beginning with 'St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom,' by Dr. Philip Schaff.

Two volumes of verse, 'Bohemia and Other Poems,' by Isabella T. Aitken, and 'Dramatic Sketches and Poems,' by L. J. Block, are soon to be issued by J. B. Lippincott Co.

The Salem (Mass.) Press Publishing and Printing Company have ready for publication a genealogy and history of the Treat Family in America. Up to 1800 the record is considered nearly perfect. Subscriptions are invited by the compiler, John Harvey Treat, Lawrence, Mass.

The twenty-fifth volume of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan) is the third since the letter H was taken up, and closes with Henry I. This monarch is delineated in fifteen pages, Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., in eight; and among British subjects, Warren Hastings receives most attention, in eleven pages. Other long sketches are those of William Hazlitt, by the senior editor, Leslie Stephen, noticeably minute; Haydon, the painter; Lord Hawke; and Sir John Hawkins, whose aliases in Spanish (Aguinas, Achines, Acle) and in Portuguese-Latin (de Canes) recall those of another English adventurer here commemorated at corresponding length, Sir John Hawkwood (Haucud, Haucwod, Haukcwod, Haukutd, in his own free spelling; Haccoude in Froissart; Acuto, Aguto, Aucud, etc., in Italian). Among the Hastings tribe occurs Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791), the founder of revival chapels forming a "connexion" which is still a living institution, as one may see by consulting the rubric "Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion" in the latest *Hazell's Annual*. John Harvard is duly celebrated, but with hardly enough recognition of Mr. Henry F. Waters's part in revealing his pedigree; and John Haynes, third Governor of the Bay colony and first Governor of Connecticut, is another of the founders of New-England who finds a place in this instalment of a work possessing the highest interest for all English-speaking peoples.

In 'The Worldly Wisdom of Lord Chesterfield' (Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), Dr. George Birkbeck Hill has gathered selections from the famous letters and added some of the 'Characters' with sufficient skill to make the volume readable and serviceable to the noble author's literary reputation, which has paled in this century. An introductory essay prepares the reader to find good in the courtier of a world essentially mean, and the selection discreetly ignores what most offends the moral sense of the present time in his Lordship's paternal advice. The passages characterizing woman in general are retained, but otherwise there is comparatively little which would not be accepted to-day by those who think etiquette and formal obligingness any important part of conduct; and it is to be acknowledged that the turn of the sentences is often very clever and the substance full of good sense. Generally, Lord Chesterfield is an author safely to be avoided, but here acquaintance with him is a very tolerable thing.

A new edition of Bacon's 'Essays' (Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), by Samuel Harvey Reynolds, is the most complete in its apparatus of notes and illustrative passages yet made. The editor's attitude towards his author is very unfavorable; he misses no opportunity of justifying the epithet "meanest of mankind" applied to Bacon, but he admits the eloquence of the essayist. The most valuable portion of the work, which is one of great learning and industry, consists of the illustrations of Bacon's sources in ancient or contemporary authors; in the verification of his misquotations, and the right ascription of the passages Bacon had in his memory when he wrote; also, in showing his habit of using over in the Essays thoughts and figures which he had employed in other writings. The notes upon the English are rather more full than was necessary when the Bible and Shakspere are still read, and the frequent annoyance of the editor at Bacon's grammar becomes an annoyance to the reader. The work altogether is a very complete one, and indispensable to the student of the Essays if he desires to go deeper than the obvious meaning of their contents in his study.

The sixth volume of Prof. Henry Morley's 'English Writers' (Cassell & Co.) comprises the period from Chaucer to Caxton, and is occupied by the usual encyclopædic account of the Romances, Chronicles, Dictionaries, Translations, Ballads, Caxton's publications, etc., together with a chapter on block-books and early printers of Europe, and brief notices of a score of minor poets, besides more extended articles on Lydgate, Occleve, Pecock, Sir John Fortescue, etc. The minuteness of this survey is the most important of its good qualities, bringing as it does into an accessible and handy volume an immense amount of erudition, scattered elsewhere through many books. This volume completes the first great division of the author's works, and he offers title-pages to such as may wish to bind the six volumes as a 'History of English Literature from the Earliest Times to the Invention of Printing.' He hopes to conclude the work in fourteen more volumes.

The new edition of Palgrave's 'Golden Treasury' (Macmillan), which has so long held its place without a rival as a repertory of English songs, lyrics, and sonnets, is welcome because of the larger type and page, although the volume becomes less handy thereby and ceases to be a book for the pocket. Most readers, too, will welcome the added poems, especially those of Sidney, Vaughan, Norris, Blake, and the anonymous songs from the Elizabethan time. The space given to Campion seems large, however, and several of these new candidates for the immortality of an anthology will not receive unanimous favor: "Agnes," by H. F. Lyte, for example, is a poem which has no such intrinsic merit or accepted fame as to entitle it to admission, and a few others are in the same category. The use of Blake's "To the Muses" as the opening poem of the Fourth Book, with its depreciation of modern verse, seems to us a grave fault of judgment. Several poems of the old collection are dropped, among which we notice with surprise Shelley's "Life of Life" and "Rarely, rarely comest thou." The collection loses by its omissions and gains by its additions. The total number of selections is increased by thirty-nine.

Shelley's Poetical Works form the fourth volume of that admirable series of English poets of the present century begun by Macmillan & Co. with *Wordsworth*, *Tennyson*, and *Matthew Arnold*. The editing has been intrusted to Prof. Dowden, who furnishes a compact introductory sketch of Shelley's life. Since in this he feels free to repeat the facts as to Harriet Westbrook's ultimate degradation, we cannot well excuse his omitting any hint of her nobility of mind and real intellectual force, as revealed in her correspondence with Catherine Nugent during her early married life—letters published in these columns last year by Mr. Alfred Webb. For the rest, Prof. Dowden avails himself of the labors of his predecessors, and produces a very scrupulous text, with notes of various readings, for some of which he acknowledges indebtedness to the Harvard College MS. as edited by Mr. Woodberry. There is also a list of Shelley's principal works, and here we should have been glad to find Dr. Garnett's "Select Letters of P. B. Shelley" (1883), despite its not coming strictly under the heading. The volume closes with an index of first lines.

Students of early American literature will find in Mr. Greenough White's 'Sketch of the Philosophy of American Literature' (Ginn & Co.) a faithful and well-informed study of the course of its history in general outline. The only criticism to be made upon the pamphlet is that it attempts to make a great subject of what is really a small one, and that the treatment of the last period of our literature seems disproportionately restricted in comparison with the earlier portions of the essay.

Ginn & Co. have issued vol. ii. of 'Open Sesame!'—a collection of poetry and prose for school-days, edited by Blanche Wilder Bellamy and Maud Wilder Goodwin, with special reference to boys and girls from ten to fourteen years of age. Half of it is given up to the rubric "Loyalty and Heroism"; other extracts are grouped as "Sentiment and Story," "Song and Laughter," "Nature," and "Holidays and Holy Days." Translations have been availed of, and the range thus widened considerably. The standard has been kept high, and no child will be the worse for memorizing the most of the pieces. The same may be said of 'Harper's Sixth Reader,' edited by James Baldwin from British authors exclusively. The Messrs. Harper have also published, in their "English Classics for School Reading," Lamb's 'Tales from Shakspere's Comedies,' edited and annotated by Dr. Rolfe, who appends a good many of the passages in verse summarized by Charles and Mary Lamb—an excellent idea.

In his 'Outlines of Physiological Psychology' (Charles Scribner's Sons), Prof. George T. Ladd has revised, modified, and abridged his larger work by the same name, and has better adapted it to classes of less pretentious ambition. It still confines the subject-matter to physiological and experimental psychology, with a mere spicing of introspective questions, and so does not enter into competition with the ordinary text-book. On the whole, we regard it as even better than the larger work, as it is more judicious and mature, having the advantages of longer reflection upon the subject and larger experience in teaching it. For its purpose there is not a better text-book in the language.

Several volumes on our table invite to warmer climes. 'Appletons' Handbook of Winter Resorts' makes its annual reappearance with revision. The painstaking volume, 'San Antonio de Bexar,' compiled by William Corner and called a guide and a history (San Antonio, Texas: Bainbridge & Corner), has a frank chapter on the town as a health resort, which is placed in the front rank for affections of the throat and lungs. The illustrations are photographic and very attractive. Mr. Charles Ledyard Norton's 'Handbook of Florida' (Longmans) is an excellent performance, full, well-arranged, and in its literary execution far above the ordinary guide-book. It must supersede everything yet attempted in this line. The historical portions have been carefully elaborated, and the volume is well supplied with maps. Mr. Norton gave us last year under the same title only the Atlantic Coast; the present issue is more than half as large again. Walbridge & Co. of this city send us 'The

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New Jamaica,' by Edgar Mayhew Bacon and Eugene Murray Aaron. It is a useful guide-book, but it cannot be compared with Mr. Norton's. There is, of course, a chapter on the climate, and another on the Industrial Exhibition, which the "protected" United States takes little interest in. The cuts are rather crude.

Mrs. M. Carey's translation of Baron Hochschild's 'Désirée, Queen of Sweden and Norway' (Dodd, Mead & Co.), is sufficient if not very flexible or skilful; and the charm of the story is not lost. The late Eugene Schuyler made it the text of a long account of Bernadotte's Queen in these columns nearly two years ago. The publishers have produced a very pretty book.

We need not recur to the contents of Renan's 'Future of Science,' which comes to us in an anonymous translation from Roberts Bros., Boston. It is a needlessly large and ungainly book, in very coarse print.

Some of the opposition to the Copyright Bill comes from legislators who honestly believe that the absence of international copyright is the cause of the cheapness of books in America. The American Copyright League issued a pamphlet on 'Cheap Books and Good Books,' to show that good books, the classics of all literatures, were not as cheap in the United States as in Europe. A recent double-page advertisement in the *Bibliographie de la France* is evidence in support of this contention. It contains a list of the books already published in the "Nouvelle Bibliothèque Populaire" (Paris: Librairie Blériot; New York: F. W. Christern). This collection now extends to more than two hundred numbers; and the price of each volume is ten centimes—two cents! In the main, of course, this collection consists of the classics, Shakspere, Voltaire, Swift, Sterne, Molière, Virgil, Goldsmith, etc.; but more than sixty of the two hundred volumes contain the writings of contemporary authors, Coppée, Theuriet, George Eliot, Carmen Sylva, Tolstoi, etc. Eleven volumes are of American authorship, being translated from Franklin, Irving, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Poe, Dr. Holmes, Bret Harte, "Marc Twain," and Mr. John Habberton. One of the two volumes contributed by Mr. Clemens contains "La grenouille sauteuse" and "Le vol de l'éléphant blanc."

As the labor legislation of Massachusetts has in recent years been considerable in amount, a compendium of these laws has been prepared by the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor, and is now published in pamphlet form. As it is supplied with a full index, it is a convenient manual for reference.

No. 21 of the 'Complete Index to *Littell's Living Age*' (1135 Pine St., Philadelphia: Edward Roth) comprises the whole of the division called "Social," and completes Volume I., which deals with the first hundred volumes of the *Living Age*.

The *Bookbuyer* for February, in pursuance of its practice of giving every month a portrait and biographical sketch of some littérateur of the day, thus makes known Mr. George Edward Woodberry to the reading public which he has addressed with so many titles to be listened to and remembered. The portrait of the author of the 'Life of Poe,' of 'The North Shore Watch, and Other Poems,' and of 'Studies in Letters and Life'—to mention only his best-known work in history, poetry, and criticism—is not an inspired likeness, but will serve for recognition of the merely external features.

In the January *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library (now a subscription periodical, by the way) will be found a handy list of books on costume. Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's bibliography of the official publications of the Continental Congress is continued.

Mr. Alfred C. Potter's Bibliography of Beaumont and Fletcher has been reprinted by itself from the Bulletin of Harvard University.

We have received the *Mentor*, a new monthly magazine published in Boston by the Alumni Association of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, and the *Doll's Dressmaker*, a new illustrated magazine for girls published in this city at 35 East Seventy-seventh Street. Parents who object to dolls altogether will take warning; others may take satisfaction in the practical instruction in needle-work involved in the scheme of this magazine, to say nothing of what will be taught in other useful branches.

The plain-spoken *Rio News* has in its issue for December 29, 1890, some timely censure of the order of the Minister of Finance "for the collecting and burning the official records relating to slavery and emancipation." "It is," says the *News*, "merely an expression of overwrought sentimentalism, like that which led the Paris mobs to destroy priceless treasures because they had been associated with the men and measures of an overthrown régime." Was it not Catharine of Russia who ordered the word slavery stricken out of the dictionary?

"J. C. N." writes us from Cincinnati: "The apparent connection between 'war and the weather' which Mr. Edward Powers traces, was noticed centuries before ever cannon volleyed and thundered. Plutarch, in his 'Life of Marius,' says: 'It is observed, indeed, that extraordinary rains generally follow after great battles; whether it be that some deity chooses to wash and purify the earth with water from above, or whether the blood and corruption, by the moist and heavy vapors they emit, thicken the air, which is liable to be altered by the smallest cause' (Langhorne, vol. ii, 302). We cannot accept the old Greek's explanation, but does not this evidence of the antiquity of the storm coincidence invalidate the artillery theory for its origin?"

—The February *Century* contains a very speaking account, both in the illustrations and the text, of the Cracker population of the Georgia cotton-mills, and opens to public view a disheartening state of things for which no remedy seems sufficient. The grown-up portion of this peculiar people are in hopeless subjection to wretched habits and mean standards of life, and the children, in the absence of effective laws restricting child-labor, contract the same weaknesses and invite the same misery. The only motive of ambition we discover in this article is the race-wish to keep ahead of the negroes. The little improvement indicated, however, is altogether insignificant, and no amount of local color, picturesqueness, or the lazy content of these men and women with their degradation should be allowed to cloud perception of the disgrace this mill-life in Georgia affixes to civilization in this country. We turn from it to the intelligent and orderly description of the state of labor in Australia, where the workingman is said to be more prosperous materially than elsewhere in the world, with less hours and more pay and larger opportunities of recreation commonly used. The reason for this condition of affairs and the question of its maintenance are discussed with moderation, and the whole general subject of the future of Australia in industry, agriculture, pasture, fruit-raising, etc., and in political development is treated broadly and suggestively. The most noticeable influence of this country on Australia seems to be the determination of the public not to allow any race-question to begin, although the sugar-plantations and the capital invested there should be sacrificed as the price of the exclusion of the only labor that can be used on them. The extracts from the Talleyrand memoirs are entirely about Napoleon, and are of greater interest than the chapter last month. It appears that Talleyrand justified himself for interfering with his master's plans, or attempting to thwart them, by the defence that he was caring for the interest of France or of Europe when betraying his chief. The conversation between Napoleon and Goethe, and also that with Wieland, are given *verbatim*. An interesting paper on the artist Rousseau, with characteristic cuts, is contributed by Mr. Charles De Kay, and the Californian papers devoted to the gold discovery are noticeable for some contemporary caricatures as well as for their contents.

—A curious illustration of the difficulty of securing historic accuracy has lately come to light in regard to the date of Margaret Fuller Ossoli's death by drowning. The peculiar tragedy of the whole affair attracted wide attention, and might, one would have thought, have fixed the date correctly. Yet every professed book of reference which we have consulted—the 'Britannica' (8th edition), Appletons' and Johnson's Cyclopædias, Duyckinck's 'American Literature,' Appletons' 'Dictionary of Biography'—gives it as the 16th of July, 1850; except Mrs. S. J. Hale's 'Woman's Record,' which gives it as August 8! But the three American biographies of her agree in giving it as July 19; and this same date is given in the *Tribune* (*Whig*) *Almanac* for 1851, and is confirmed by all the newspapers of the time. Thus the Boston *Daily Traveller* of Monday, July 22, 1850, had, among its telegraphic news, "Ship *Elizabeth* . . . went ashore on Friday last"—this being July 19; and the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of July 24 had only got so far as to announce that the loss was "confirmed." It was Tuesday, July 23, when Charles Sumner and others went to Fire Island to look for the bodies. In the Fuller family Bible, Mrs. Fuller records the date of her daughter's death as July 19. The curious question arises, how this error originated. Apparently in the fact that the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' in 1859, got the date wrong—the ninth edition omits it altogether—and all American books of reference found it easier to follow that than to look in the three carefully prepared biographies, or in the *Tribune Almanac*, or to consult the newspapers. The error in 'Appletons' Cyclopædia' is peculiarly noticeable, as both its editors were Mme. Ossoli's friends, or at least acquaintances, and both were connected with the New York *Tribune*, whose annual almanac had given the date correctly. It all illustrates the extreme tenacity and vitality of an error.

—The Incorporated Society of Authors held their annual meeting on the 15th of January, in the Whitehall Rooms of the Hotel Metropole, London. The one question of vital importance, to English and American authors alike, which came up for discussion was the new American Copyright Bill. But Sir Frederick Pollock, the Chairman, Mr. Walter Besant, and the few who spoke on the subject, were very cautious and non-committal. There seemed to be a general feeling that the less said until the bill had actually passed, the better. Then Sir Frederick Pollock thought it would be time to give serious consideration to that clause which provides that a book to be copyrighted must be printed from type set up

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within the limits of the United States; but even then it would be wise for authors to wait until those who are most interested pronounce an opinion or take active steps. However, no matter what the fate or drawbacks of the act, he suggested that a vote of thanks be passed by the Society to the American authors who had supported the bill, and this motion was eventually proposed by Mr. Besant and, needless to say, unanimously passed. Mr. Besant delivered himself of the opinions published in last month's *Author*, the organ of the Society, which are briefly these: Pirates will not be smitten with confusion by the act, because of the large stock of stolen property they have on hand, and because copyrights are always expiring. They will not be able to pay for the best new British books, but for second and third-rate publications they will offer a five-pound note for the copyright, and this will be accepted by British authors, who, Mr. Besant seems to think, will take anything they can get. And as for the printing, it will not be done altogether in America—in the first place, because, with a successful book, the cost of composition is a trifle; and in the second, because there lives not "a caitiff Briton so vile as to allow, if he can prevent it, his work to appear in his own country in the vulgar and debased spelling adopted in the States." Spelling will be dearer to the British author than filthy lucre, for all that eagerness with which he clasps a five-pound note! It may be interesting to mention that the Society of Authors are thinking of founding an Authors' Club in London on the same lines as those of the well-known institution of the name in New York.

—Perhaps there are good reasons why an Englishman of letters should bless the narrow seas that separate him from France, and wish they were a whole Atlantic broad, but these reasons do not relate to his fame as a writer or to the understanding of the man or of his work. In these regards the Channel is now as wide as the Pacific. The *Revue Bleue*, the best informed and most judicious of the French weeklies, furnishes some good evidence of this in its number of January 3. It is speaking of the death of the late Dean of St. Paul's (which took place on the 9th of last December), and says of him, that Dean Church "occupied himself but little with theology; his recent book on St. Anselm was much more a literary study than a religious work. But his books and essays on Dante, on Spencer [*sic*], on Bacon are, in point of originality of ideas and of a natural elegance of style, works of the first rank, and they will be reckoned among the best productions of English literary criticism." The 'St. Anselm' is not precisely a recent work, since the main part of it appeared in the *British Critic* in 1843, but that is a matter of not much consequence. The great mistake of the *Revue* lies in its confusion of what were no more to Dean Church than literary recreations with what he considered his serious work. He was first and foremost and always a priest of the English Church. Neither Keble nor George Herbert delighted more than he in the life of the country parson. No one at Oxford was more active than he in the years that preceded Newman's secession, and there was perhaps no man who had in those days more of Newman's confidence and affection. Certainly his position in connection with the great leader of the Oxford movement was much more important than that held either by Frederick Oakeley or William George Ward; and after Newman's departure the part he played was more important still. With his friend, Sir Frederick Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford), James Mozley, and Mountague Bernard, he founded the *Guardian*, which has been through the last fifty years probably the most weighty of the English Church newspapers. Church wrote much in its columns, contributing to them down almost to the last week of his life. When he became, most unwillingly, Dean of St. Paul's, there was a marked contrast to be seen between his attitude towards the work there and that of his literary predecessor. His full sympathy and help went to those of the Chapter who have revolutionized the cathedral and turned it from what was merely a showplace, with an admission fee of twopence to be paid at the door, into what the *Times* lately called "the home and centre of church life in London."

—While it seems plain to any one who considers Dean Church's life that he was—what he always looked upon himself as being—first a priest, and after that a man of letters, still it would be a mistake to look upon him merely as an ecclesiastic, or at all as a narrow ecclesiastic. His sympathies were as wide as his culture. No knowledge and no persons who possessed knowledge of any sort seemed to be indifferent to him. "Any one of note, whether it was a Benedictine from Portugal seeking information in the Bodleian, or a Syrian explorer like Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, or a famous botanist like Professor Asa Gray, or a rising naturalist such as Dr. Sclater then was, or an eager physicist like Frank Buckland, was sure of a welcome from him in the Oriel common-room." Fraser, Clough, Matthew Arnold, Henry Coleridge, were his companions at Oriel and his friends; and while he was perhaps more closely bound to men, like James Mozley and Charles Marriot, who shared his theological sympathies, he was often to be found with Stanley or Jowett or Lake, Balliol men of quite a different cast of mind from his own. Mark Pattison distinguishes him by perhaps the only tender or gentle judgment that is to be found in his mordant autobiography: "There was such a moral beauty about Church that they could not help taking him" for a fellowship. Stanley hailed his coming to St. Paul's with great delight. In point of literary style, Church's writing is nearly as good as that of his master, Newman. It is perhaps more perfect—perhaps too obviously perfect—literary English. But if the reader misses in Church something of Newman's grace and ease, he will miss also some of the rather careless freedom which the greater writer at times permitted to himself. Church, to turn back for a moment to what we were saying above, had the opportunity once to serve Newman in a very public and marked way. He was one of the two proctors who, after Ward's degradation and the condemnation of his book, interposed to prevent the Oxford Convocation from proceeding to the condemnation of Tract No. 90 and of Newman by the famous veto, "Nobis Procuratoribus non placet!"

REID'S LIFE OF LORD HOUGHTON.

The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton. By T. Wemyss Reid. 2 vols. Cassell & Co. 1890.

Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, was an unusually interesting type of a kind of person characteristic of England, and indeed not to be found outside England—the man of fashion and society who is also something of a man of letters and something of a politician. Such men are plentiful and usually deserve no record beyond that of those who remember their good dinners. But when they evince exceptional capacity in any one of these three lines, their triple aspect makes them men of consequence, giving them, it may even be, a niche in the history of their times. Of Richard Milnes it may be said that he was really eminent in one of these lines, that of the man of society, and might perhaps, had he exerted himself, have been eminent in literature also, for though his work was scanty, it has quality; and though it is now but little read, those who read it are sure to value it.

He was born in 1809 — the birth-year of Abraham Lincoln, Tennyson, and Gladstone — the son of a wealthy country gentleman in southern Yorkshire, who had made a brilliant début in the House of Commons three years previously, but soon abandoned politics for the easier life of a landlord and sportsman. He was sent in 1827 to Trinity College, Cambridge, and had the good fortune to find himself there in the midst of a singularly able and brilliant group of undergraduates, some of whom afterwards became famous. To this group belonged Alfred Tennyson and one of his brothers, Thackeray, F. D. Maurice, John Sterling, Arthur Hallam, Edmund and Henry Lushington, James Spedding, C. R. Kennedy, and G. S. Venable. Connop Thirlwall, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, Whewell, and Julius Hare were tutors. To know and to be liked by these men was itself an education and an admirable start in the world. When he left the University, young Milnes travelled a good deal and began to write. His verses had considerable merit, and as their merit was aided by a *succès d'estime*, they soon made their way and brought reputation to their author. Presently, in 1837, he entered Parliament as member for the (now extinct) borough of Pontefract, and, after eleven years of service as an independent Tory, joined the Liberal party, showing, however, his old detachment from party ties no less in the new than in the old affiliation. In 1863 he quitted the House of Commons only to become, on Lord Palmerston's nomination, a peer, and continued to take a part, though not an active part, in politics till nearly the end of his life.

The advantage of a double or triple career like this is that success in one direction may bring consolation for failure in another, and that it makes life altogether fuller, richer, and more interesting than the career of a mere politician can be. Its defect is, that it almost invariably prevents a man from attaining the highest distinction in any one line. He who does many things well scarcely ever does one thing consummately well; and, in the press and competition of modern life, there really is not time, even for a man in whom the literary temper does not injure the capacity for practical work, to excel both in literature and in statesmanship. Milnes, however, was not really suited for politics. He had all the external aid that any one could desire, but his mind was too fastidious and critical to acquiesce in that subjection of individual impulse and opinion to the necessity of party co-operation which the party system of England makes imperative. Although he was a man of keen sympathy, he had not the power of divining and bringing himself into harmony with the main current of feeling in the people; and he was consequently liable to grave errors in judgment and foresight. His father, professedly a Tory, was in favor of the Reform Bill of 1832; he, fresh from the stimulating influences of Cambridge, was opposed to it. Subsequently he nearly lost his seat by advo-

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cating a scheme which, whatever might be said for it on the merits, had never the least chance of success, viz, that of endowing the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland. He felt bitterly Peel's omission to give him, in 1841, the post of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for which his knowledge of the Continent of Europe seemed to render him specially fitted. Peel, it is plain to readers of this biography, thought him too light a weight for serious political work—more than sufficiently clever, but not likely to run quietly in harness, and capable of vivacious sallies or expressions of individual opinion which might embarrass his colleagues in the Government.

For social success, on the other hand, he had a rare combination of gifts—a quick intelligence, a lively wit, a kindly temper, infinite curiosity, especially about his fellow-men; a great power of making himself pleasant, yet with sarcasm enough to be able to diffuse a slight sense of alarm—the whole coupled with just so much of singularity in his manners as gave a flavor of originality to everything he did. For fifty years he was a conspicuous figure in London society, knowing everybody worth knowing, and full of recollections of everybody who had been eminent in the generation next before his own. This social fame not only interfered with his success in politics, but with his literary reputation. Most of those who saw him in his later days had never read or had forgotten his poetry; and his prose writings, though always marked by grace of expression and refinement of taste, were comparatively slight, and addressed to a relatively small circle. But the almost unique position which he occupied enabled him to be of some service to literature in general, and to do many helpful acts to individual literary men. His biographer mentions a few out of countless instances in which he bestowed not merely money (which would have been, considering his wealth, no such great test of a good heart), but time and trouble upon those who had attracted his sympathy by ability and misfortune. Mr. Wemyss Reid has done well to bring out this, because Lord Houghton, who in all things loved paradoxes and enjoyed mystifications, wore, at any rate in his later years, an air of cynicism and worldliness which, though it was hardly noticed by intimate friends, who knew it to be superficial, often did him wrong with the world at large. Apart from these instances of benevolent aid to struggling authors, the book is full of proofs of Lord Houghton's sensitive tenderness and of the warmth of his friendships.

These friendships are the pleasantest feature in the biography. His inexhaustible interest in many sorts of subjects and men made him a sort of meeting-point for different social streams. Hardly any of his contemporaries was equally well fitted to be a common friend to persons unlikely to be friends to one another. Thus the book becomes an agreeable picture of the world of literature and politics in England from 1830 to 1870. From a great many entertaining anecdotes and letters we select a few of Arthur Hallam, who will go down to remote posterity as the "A. H. H." of Tennyson's 'In Memoriam.' Monckton Milnes wrote in 1828, when they were both undergraduates:

"I have a very deep respect for Hallam. Thirlwall is actually captivated with him. He really seems to know everything, from metaphysics to cookery." . . .

"Hallam opened at the Union [debating society] in a maiden speech against the decapitation of Charles I. last night, but he did not succeed very well. I opposed him at some length, but am afraid I was too flashy. Indeed, I find it hard to trace the line between passion and rant. . . . The London Union does not seem half so good as ours. Sterling [Carlyle's John Sterling] spoke splendidly, and Mill made an essay on Wordsworth's poetry for two and three-quarter hours which delighted me, but all the rest was meagre in the extreme."

The following deliverance from Victor Cousin (fall of 1829) is delicious:

"I had a delightful two hours' conversation with Cousin this morning, mostly on politics. One of his remarks was: 'What is it makes Lafayette a mere idol of the public, and B. Constant a *phraseur*, and Wellington and Peel mere engines of state? They are not metaphysicians. For a man to be now a statesman he must first be a philosopher.' He embraced me most affectionately."

Here are notices of two famous Germans whom Milnes saw at Bonn in 1830:

"I am to be introduced to Schlegel [Augustus]. He thinks a great deal more of rank and political eminence than anything else, so I wish I could say that papa had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, if it was only for twenty-four hours. ["Papa" had been offered that office in 1806, but refused it.] He is insufferably vain of his person, though near seventy, and arranges his wig from a little looking-glass in his snuff-box, and ill-natured people say he rouges."

"Milnes [says Mr. Aubrey de Vere in some admirable pages of reminiscences of his friend] drew to us in 1831 a vivid picture of Niebuhr's profound grief at the downfall of the restored monarchy in France at the renewal of the Revolution in 1830. He was delivering a series of historical lectures at the time, and Milnes was one of the young men attending the course. One day they had long to wait for their professor; at last the aged historian entered the lecture-hall, his form drooping and his whole aspect grief-stricken. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'I have no apology to make for detaining you; a calamity has befallen Europe which must undo all the restorative work recently done, and throw back her social and political progress perhaps for centuries. The Revolution has broken out again.'"

Another anecdote from 1830: "I have only heard two stories by way of news: one that the Duke of St. Albans asked the showman of the Siamese boys, who you know are joined together, whether they were brothers; and the other, that Prince Leopold, being recommended to read Plutarch for Grecian lore, got the British Plutarch by mistake, and laid down the Life of Sir Christopher Wren in great indignation, exclaiming there was hardly anything about Greece in it."

In 1844 the present Queen gave a state fancy ball which excited much curiosity at the time. Milnes, who had shortly before published his first volume of poems, announced his intention of appearing at the ball in the character of the poet Chaucer, in a dress the details of which were superintended by Macready. Wordsworth, as poet-laureate, had received an invitation to it, though not wholly pleased at having to begin his attendance on such revels at seventy-five years of age. The patriarch of English poetry, when told of the young poet's intention, exclaimed: "If Richard Milnes goes to the Queen's ball in the character of Chaucer, it only remains for me to go to it in that of Richard Milnes."

There are superb letters from Carlyle, too long to be here extracted; and some excellent sayings of Sydney Smith, together with some letters from him, one of which deserves quotation. Several epithets, or rather nicknames, to which Milnes objected had been given to him, and rumor ascribed their authorship to Sydney Smith. Milnes, who was still a young man, was annoyed at this, and wrote to his elderly friend a letter of remonstrance. Sydney Smith replied as follows:

DEAR MILNES: Never lose your good temper, which is one of your best qualities, and which has carried you hitherto safely through your startling eccentricities. If you turn cross and touchy, you are a lost man. No man can combine the defects of opposite characters. The names of "Cool of the Evening," "London Assurance," and "In-I-go Jones," are, I give you my word, not mine. They are of no sort of importance; they are safety-valves, and if you could by paying sixpence get rid of them, you had better keep your money. You do me but justice in acknowledging that I have spoken much good of you. I have laughed at you for those follies which I have told you of to your face; but nobody has more readily and more earnestly asserted that you are a very agreeable, clever man, with a very good heart, unimpeachable in all the relations of life, and that you amply deserve to be retained in the place to which you had too hastily elevated yourself by manners unknown to our cold and phlegmatic people. I thank you for what you say of my good humor. Lord Dudley, when I took leave of him, said to me, "You have been laughing at me for the last seven years, and you never said anything which I wished unsaid." This pleased me. Ever yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

Many years afterwards Lord Houghton himself showed this letter to his present biographer, saying, "Don't you think that that was an admirable letter for an old man to write to a young one who had just played the fool?"

Of Milnes's own witticisms some good specimens are given, but we do not find one of the sharpest. It was addressed to a lady of rank who had been dilating to him upon her triumphs, and had wound up by saying, "In fact, I have had hundreds of men at my feet." "Chiropodists, I suppose," was the reply.

Of the sixty years of active life which these volumes cover, it is noticeable how much more interesting the first thirty, 1825–1855, are than the thirty which bring us down to the end of Lord Houghton's life in 1885. This is not to be explained merely by the greater curiosity which people feel about the generation whom they have not known as contemporaries. Any one who makes a list of the eminent Englishmen who flourished in the former period and compares that list with a similar one of the prominent figures of the latter period, will be struck by the superiority of the earlier generation and of the society of London then to the society of London now. The same remark is often made regarding France and Germany. One often sets such reflections down to the familiar *laudatio temporis acti*. But this Life has made us feel that there is some real foundation for the complaint that England has begun to enter a sort of period of eclipse, such as occasionally happens to all countries, and such as she experienced between 1720 and 1770.

It only remains to say a word as to the editorial part of the book. Mr. Reid has done his work with eminent taste and skill. If he has somewhat overstated the literary merit and social importance of his hero, this is a fault which may be easily pardoned to a biographer who was also an intimate friend. His own remarks are so just and so pertinent that we are sometimes inclined to wish he had given us more of them. He has been scrupulously careful to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of living persons—a task very difficult in dealing with the correspondence of a man who heard so much and said so much about his fellow-creatures; and he has succeeded, while not concealing the vanities and oddities of Monckton Milnes, in making him live before us not only a very bright and clever, but a very kindly and genial man, in whom many of the best features of diverse and even opposite types of character and profession were happily blended.

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ERICSSON.

The Life of John Ericsson. By William Conant Church. 2 vols., 8vo. Charles Scribner's Sons.

JOHN ERICSSON was born July 31, 1803, at Longbanshyttan, in the mining district of Nordmark in Sweden. His parents were well educated and well off, but when John was about eight years of age his father failed in business, and the family was reduced to poverty. Olaf Ericsson removed to Forsvik, where he obtained a position as engineer, and gave his two boys every advantage which he could obtain for them. John made remarkable progress in mechanical drawing, and, with his brother Nils, was finally appointed a cadet in the mechanical corps of the Swedish Navy. Through the patronage of Count Platen, he was afterwards employed as engineer on the Göta Canal. He next entered the army, where his skill in topographical drawing stood him in good stead. In 1825 he made the first of his recorded inventions—an engine in which air heated by a flame expanded in a cylinder. This was the germ of the caloric engine of his later years. In May, 1826, Ericsson went to England on leave of absence, but eighteen months later resigned his commission in the army and began his mechanical career. He soon became intimate with John Braithwaite, a manufacturer of machines, and afterwards formed a partnership with him. His fertility of invention showed itself in a number of contrivances, of which we need only mention a hot-air engine, a plan for transmitting power by compressed air, a boiler with artificial draught, and a surface condenser for steam-engines. The two last, in principle, at least, are still in use. The invention of the steam fire-engine followed in 1828, and was received in England with violent and, for a time, successful opposition. Gradually, with improvements, it everywhere replaced the old hand-machines.

In April, 1829, the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad offered a prize for the best locomotive engine. A trial took place on the 8th of October of the same year, the competitors being George Stephenson with the *Rocket*, Braithwaite and Ericsson with the *Novelty*, and three others of little or no account. Stephenson had all the advantage of experience, having been for five years at the head of an establishment for making such locomotives as were in use on colliery tramways. He had five months' time to construct his engine, and was also able to test it on a railroad before the final trial. Braithwaite and Ericsson had but seven weeks in which to build their engine, and no opportunity to test it. Stephenson's engine was better and more solidly built. The trial was on a piece of road only two miles long, and the competitors were obliged to run backward and forward over less than two miles of track. Owing to various defects in workmanship, the *Novelty* could not complete the required distance, and the prize was awarded to Stephenson. The *Novelty*, however, easily ran past the *Rocket*, and the sympathy of the press and the public appears to have been strongly with Ericsson. We have the testimony of Couper and Vignoles that the *Novelty* ran with them on one occasion at the rate of fifty miles an hour.

After a number of inventions which were at best only partially successful, Ericsson returned to his air-engine. Robert Stirling obtained a patent somewhat in advance of Ericsson, but his engine was never practically successful. In 1833 Ericsson devised his regenerator, an apparatus by which the hot air going out after expansion in the cylinder communicated heat to metallic tubes, which, in their turn, served as sources of heat to the entering cold air. The principle of this contrivance was really a very old one, and had also been used by Stirling. Practical difficulties prevented the general use of the caloric engine, but small pumping-machines are still in use, and very recently a splendid success appears to have been obtained by the hot-air engine of Woodbury, Patten & Woodbury. A number of minor contrivances followed, but we will name only a very successful deep-sea sounding instrument depending on the compression of air.

In October, 1836, Ericsson married Amelia Byam, a young lady of good family, handsome, and a fine musician. As he himself said, however, Ericsson was not fitted for domestic life. His wife followed him to America, but soon returned to England, and the two never met again. They continued, nevertheless, to correspond, and Ericsson contributed liberally to his wife's support.

In 1836 Ericsson devised a screw propeller, the form of which was afterwards copied for the steamer *Princeton*. The next year he made a small working model, and in 1837 he designed an engine for driving the propeller by the direct action of the pistons upon the shaft, a method of fundamental importance, and the parent of the modern system of screw propulsion. Various unsuccessful attempts had been made to replace the paddle-wheel by the screw. Of these the most noteworthy is the Archimedean screw of Francis Pettit Smith, a contemporary rival of no mean achievement. Ericsson patented his invention, and in 1837 launched upon the Thames the *Francis B. Ogden*, a vessel only 45 feet long, which towed a schooner of 140 tons at the rate of seven miles an hour. The Lords of the Admiralty could not, however, be induced to adopt Ericsson's plans. One misfortune followed another. The firm of Braithwaite & Ericsson failed. Ericsson was sent to the Fleet, but finally secured his discharge in bankruptcy. Other successful screw propellers were built by the assistance of his friends Ogden and Stockton, but Ericsson was, as usual, too far in advance of his age. The new system slowly forced itself upon the attention of practical men. Robert F. Stockton, a lieutenant in the United States Navy, and a man of wealth, intelligence, and political influence, saw the value of the invention, and a vessel was built for him by the Lairds at Birkenhead, and proved a signal success. Several smaller vessels were also constructed and were successful, but the inertia of an unintelligent public opinion could not be overcome. Ericsson decided to remove to the United States, and arrived in New York March 23, 1839. Within ten years afterwards twenty-four merchant vessels had been fitted with screw propellers. Stockton secured an order to build a frigate of 600 tons for the navy, and the *Princeton* was begun in 1842. All the plans for this vessel were drawn by Ericsson at Stockton's request, Ericsson leaving his remuneration to the generosity of the Government. Stockton paid Ericsson $1,150 for his services to himself, assuring him that there would be no difficulty about his pay from the Navy Department. Ericsson gave Stockton a bill and receipt for $1,150, and Stockton then used this to extinguish Ericsson's claim against the Government, and Ericsson was never paid.

Ericsson had brought with him from England a wrought-iron gun in which hoops or rings were shrunk upon the breech in two superposed layers. Stockton constructed a similar gun of bad material imperfectly welded, but bored and finished under Ericsson's direction, and called the Peacemaker. The story of the bursting of this gun on board the *Princeton* February 28, 1844, is familiar to all. The *Princeton* proved, however, a great success. Stockton claimed the whole merit of her construction, and in a report to the Navy Department did not even mention the name of Ericsson. The *Princeton* was the first successful application of steam in naval warfare. The genealogies of inventions are always hard to trace, and the claim of Ericsson to the substitution of the screw for the paddle-wheel has of course been disputed, though it is not difficult to show that others only attempted to do what he succeeded in doing. The direct action of the piston upon the shaft of the screw has, we believe, not been claimed by others. The *Princeton* was the first steam ship-of-war in any proper sense of the term; the screw, boiler, and machinery being placed beneath the surface of the water.

Ericsson again took up his plans for hot-air engines. He made great advances in theory and practice, and decided to apply the principle to a large vessel. The "caloric" ship *Ericsson* was accordingly built, and on February 16, 1850, made a trial trip to Washington. The speed of the vessel was, however, only eight miles an hour. On her return to New York she was struck by a tornado and sank. She was raised, but it was finally decided to take out the hot-air engines and convert her into a steamer. We can hardly do otherwise than regard the *Ericsson* as a failure, but Ericsson never lost faith in the final success of the principle of the engine.

The breaking out of the Civil War in the spring of 1861 gave Ericsson a long-desired opportunity. The Confederate Government early began the construction of iron-clad vessels, and in July, 1861, Secretary Welles recommended the appointment of a board to inquire into the necessity of constructing armored steamers or floating batteries. Both France and England had at the time a number of iron-clad steam vessels, no one of which resembled in any respect the plan which Ericsson proposed. The board, September 16, 1861, reported in favor of three plans: Ericsson's floating battery; a broadside vessel of 3,266 tons afterwards known as the *Ironsides;* and lastly the *Galena*. This last vessel was designed by C. S. Bushnell, who was subsequently associated with Ericsson in building the *Monitor*, and whose very interesting letter to Secretary Welles, written long afterwards, is well worth reading. A contract was at last secured, and even before the usual formalities were completed the keel of the *Monitor* was passing through the rolling-mill. The vessel was put into commission, under command of Lieut. Worden, on February 26, 1862. We must pass over many interesting details which even now it is impossible to read without emotion. The story of the memorable battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, March 9, 1862, need not be related here. Ericsson always maintained that if the officers of the *Monitor* had had a few weeks' practice with the vessel, the *Merrimac* would have gone to the bottom on the very first discharge of the fifteen-inch gun in the turret. As it was, Ericsson's triumph was complete, and he was overwhelmed with congratulations at home and abroad. Congress passed a vote of thanks. Russia and Sweden at once accepted the *Monitor* as the solution of the problem of naval attack and defence. On the 16th of March succeeding, Ericsson received and accepted a proposition to build six gun-boats on the plan of the *Monitor*, and later two monitors of the larger

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class, the *Dictator* and the *Puritan*, one of which, against Ericsson's urgent and in the end successful protest, was to have two turrets.

The *Monitor* was sent up James River, and withstood without injury a heavy cannonade from forts. Other successes followed. Capt. Worden with the *Montauk* destroyed the Confederate ship *Nashville* under the guns of Fort Macallister. The *Manhattan* gave the finishing blow to the ironclad ram *Tennessee* in Mobile Bay. At Fort Fisher the monitors lay for three days under fire, with the loss of only three men. The first shot from the fifteen-inch gun of the *Weehawken* knocked down forty men on the ram *Atlanta*, which, after two or three more shots, surrendered. Finally, the *Miantonomoh* crossed the Atlantic in perfect safety, while the *Monadnock* rounded Cape Horn and reached San Francisco. The success of the monitor system was complete, but the strong opposition of ignorance, prejudice, and class pride was but slowly and partially overcome.

At an early period of his life Ericsson had devoted much thought and study to the subject of "sub-aquatic" attack, his plan being to discharge an explosive projectile from a tube lying near the bottom of the attacking vessel and with valves at each end. After various plans, he constructed in 1877–78 a vessel called the *Destroyer*, and in 1880 he was able to announce that from this vessel a torpedo was discharged two hundred and seventy-five feet in a direct course under water. In the navy this project met with both opponents and defenders, but in the end was rejected.

In his old age Ericsson devoted himself to the construction of a sun-motor or engine—air or steam—to be moved by the reflected heat of the sun. A certain measure of success was attained in this way. The first motor was constructed in New York in 1870. Ericsson made a large number of experiments in solar radiation, and continued to work in this field with his usual energy until his death on March 8, 1889.

In his best years Ericsson was strikingly handsome and possessed of immense bodily strength. With some very marked faults of character, and as he grew old with much eccentricity, he possessed very noble qualities. He was generous even in his poverty, supported needy relatives, and forgave mean enemies and treacherous friends, while his long life of eighty-six years was full of usefulness and of good deeds. The picture of Ericsson's old age painted by his biographer with truthful colors is well worthy of contemplation. It is the portrait of a man in whose strong face there are still lines of weakness. Col. Church has done the work which Ericsson intrusted to him with great labor and with more than charity. He has written one of the best and most interesting biographies on record. There is, perhaps, a little too much detail, and yet no reader will regret it. In concluding our notice we may be permitted to express the hope that Ericsson's letters to and from other engineers will be collected and published. They must contain the inner history of much of the best mechanical work of our century.

How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York. By Jacob A. Riis. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

THIS book exhibits two tendencies that are especially prominent in these latter days. One is the disposition to study the pathology of society, to examine the manner of life of criminals, paupers, beggars, and incapables generally; the other is the propensity to regard social therapeutics as consisting in a change of material conditions. As to the first of these tendencies it is probable that the general softening of manners has led to a positive increase of benevolent feeling. More persons are sincerely disturbed at the thought of human misery, and more persons are in position to interest themselves in any movement that has for its object the relief of this misery. But on the other hand, with the softening of the heart, there tends to come a softening of the head. Much learning of slums and sweating-houses has made some social reformers mad, and acquaintance with the hideous details of human depravity and wretchedness has resulted in wild outcries against the government of God as well as the government of man. Nor is it to be denied that the exploiting of these horrors has sometimes been undertaken for sensational purposes, for the gratification of that uneradicated if not ineradicable taste for whatever is foul, which finds a more exquisite satisfaction in the filth of fact than in that of fiction.

Mr. Riis, however, has evidently been animated by the best of motives in making this study of the dark side of life in the city of New York; and while he is occasionally overcome by the appalling character of the sights that he has personally witnessed, his account of them is generally marked by sobriety and self-restraint. He does not quite lose sight of the fact that not all dwellers in tenement-houses are on the point of starving to death, or live under vile conditions. His aim is to let us know the worst, and it is not surprising that especial emphasis should be laid upon whatever intensifies the darkness, but he allows us at least to see that there is another side. His book is by no means so thorough and even scientific as that compiled by Mr. Booth upon East London, but it is an excellent presentation of many superficial aspects of the life of the poor in a great city. He takes us with him on his visits to Gotham Court and Cherry Hill, to Chinatown and Jewtown and Little Italy, to "The Bend" and "Hell's Kitchen" and "Murderers' Row," and he tells us what is there to be seen and heard and smelt. There is much sameness in it all, and the difficulties of the situation are as manifest at the beginning of the tour as at the end. These difficulties Mr. Riis does not seem to us fully to appreciate.

For he is an illustration of the second tendency of which we have spoken. In his view the tenement-house is the root of all evil, and the only hope of improving the characters of degraded human beings consists in improving their dwellings. There is something to be said in favor of this view, but Mr. Riis offers sufficient evidence of its insufficiency. So long as the administration of penal law is what it now is, so long as the treatment of the inmates of penal institutions is unchanged, so long as some of our charitable institutions are managed as they are, and so long as the city of New York continues to be the common dump of the outcasts of the world, the building of improved tenement-houses will not put to flight the powers of evil. Almost the only people whom Mr. Riis heartily denounces are the landlords. It is their greed that is responsible for the wickedness and misery of their tenants. But unless they live in tenement-houses themselves, it is evident that character is not determined by the nature of the residence; and it is instructive to find Mr. Riis elsewhere maintaining that this selfsame greed, by turning itself to the construction of buildings for business purposes, has accomplished more good than all other reformatory agencies.

The truth is, that Mr. Riis has grappled with a more extensive problem than he supposes. It is not difficult to devise remedies for the evils that he describes. The difficulty lies in the application of these remedies. Given a mass of human beings leading lives of which it is desired to raise the standard, how shall this be done when the government of society is in the hands of these people? A benevolent despot could make New York clean, healthy, and beautiful for less money than is now spent in keeping it dirty, unwholesome, and hideous. He could equalize wages by putting a stop to the tyrannical monopoly of trade unions; he could raise wages by preventing the influx of workers contented with a low standard of living and of workers for whom there was no place. He could, at the same time, increase wealth by subjecting idlers and criminals to a reformatory discipline that should only terminate with their reform, and by saving the waste of misdirected and pauperizing alms. But how shall these things be done by the very people whom it is desired to elevate? How shall the tenement-house be reformed by the dwellers in tenement-houses?

Desperate as the situation is, the spectacle of the devoted labors of countless noble workers to better it is grand and exhilarating. The mere money poured out in charity that is known is computed to be $8,000,000 a year, and much giving by the right hand is unknown to the left. More valuable than money is the wealth of love and sympathy and Christian endeavor that flows like a river from both rich and poor. Mr. Riis gives most encouraging testimony as to the results of these labors; in his opinion the situation is improved ten-fold over what it was a few years ago. It is demonstrated that tenements in which self-respecting people may live can be made to pay a fair return upon the capital invested, and the great work of the Charity Organization Society renders the labor of the benevolent far more effective. Mr. Riis is not always discreet; he seems to give his assent to the extraordinary proposition that American women who reside in the country ought not to sew upon cheap clothing, because they come into competition with a degraded class of immigrants that choose to herd like pigs in the slums of the Tenth Ward of New York. But he has given his readers much material for thought, and his book is to be commended to those who wish to be informed as to the nature and extent of tenement-house life. The photographs with which the work is illustrated are not very clear, and quite fail to suggest the squalor that they are intended to represent.

Emblematic Mounds and Animal Effigies. By Stephen D. Peet, Editor of the *American Antiquarian*. Chicago: *American Antiquarian* Office. 1890. 8vo, pp. 351. Illustrated.

THESE mounds have ever been a stumbling-block in the path of the American archæologist, and it is with a feeling of regret that we are forced to confess that there is nothing in the present volume that is calculated to remove the obstacle, or that can, in any way, help us to a satisfactory conclusion in regard to the origin and uses of these structures. The questions involved are difficult—some of them, perhaps, are impossible of solution; and it was no doubt for this reason that almost all the writers who have thus far grappled with the subject, have dealt with it in the cautious manner that befits an investigation in which

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many of the factors are, and must from the nature of the case remain, unknown.

Regarded from this point of view, the contrast between this work and those that have preceded it is very marked; for although, as a matter of fact, our author repeatedly admits that it is not always easy to identify these animal-shaped figures, yet it is very evident to any one who will take the trouble to examine the volume, that he is not embarrassed by doubts upon this or any other point upon which he finds it necessary to express an opinion. Thus, for instance, when referring to the disagreement between Lapham and himself as to the likenesses that are said to exist between certain mounds and the animals which, it is supposed, they were intended to represent, he tells us (pp. 23, 45, 54, etc.), that that writer "called birds crosses, and panthers lizards"; and that "he seemed to lack the faculty of imagination, or some other quality, which should have enabled him to trace the resemblances in the right direction." We are also told (p. 79) that "naturalists, as a class, are not acquainted with the habits and haunts of the animals, and are poor in their representation of animal life." "A surveyor" (p. 29), it is thought, "who is able to take accurate measurements and then to plot the effigy, is most likely to be accurate in his conclusions," though even he would fail unless possessed of "some imagination . . . so that the contour and complete figure can be given," since "a mere mechanical plotting will not convey the idea of resemblance."

This certainly makes short work of Lapham and the whole tribe of naturalists, but it does not satisfy our author. He now goes a step further, and, having brushed aside (p. 76) the "ordinary surveyor," and (p. 79) all but a few sportsmen, he assures us (p. 70) that when speaking of the attitudes of the different animals as represented in these mounds, "the points which he makes are perceptible to him while they are imperceptible to others," thus closing the door, so far as he was able, to all possible contention.

Being thus informed of our author's qualifications, there is, of course, no occasion for surprise at anything that occurs. Accordingly, when we are told (p. 6) that an animal-shaped mound described by Lapham as having several humps on its back, "is a moose," or when (p. 51) certain figures are identified as fishes, though "the shape of the fish is lacking," we recognize it as a proof of the superior insight by means of which our author discerns likenesses that either do not exist, or are not visible to ordinary mortals.

These, however, are but special instances, and do not give us an idea of the flights of fancy in which he indulges when treating of these mounds collectively. Thus, for example, although he speaks (pp. 27, 29, 70, 87, etc., etc.) of the liability to mistake these resemblances on account of "the size" of the mounds, their "indefiniteness," "the obliterations" made by time, and the "strange distortion" that was practised, yet he finds no difficulty in identifying the figures of fifty or more different kinds of animals, some of which, in size and shape, are as much alike as rabbits and hares, hawks and falcons, and weasels, minks, and skunks. Indeed, in one case, he is so far carried away as to assert that "the lofty flight and extensive vision" of the eagle is shown—a statement that may well be doubted in view of the limitations supposed to be inherent in this kind of work. Nor is this all, for, forgetful, apparently, of what is said about the indefiniteness of these animal-shapes and the difficulty of recognizing them, he tells us (pp. 53, 78, 80, etc., etc.) that they are formed with "remarkable skill," "are life-like," "true to nature," etc., etc.; and this in face of the fact that no two observers agree in characterizing them, and that Lapham, whose account of them is the best that we have, cautions us against accepting these resemblances, and does not hesitate to say that there is no evidence that the figures which "for convenience" he calls lizards, but which, according to our author, are panthers, were intended to represent the lizard, or an animal of any kind. In fact, our author himself admits that it is sometimes hard to distinguish between these different shapes, and (p. 302) he figures an animal which "may be taken for a mastodon or a coon," depending upon which end is regarded as the head.

But while we are not insensible to the wonder-working power of the imagination, there are times when it is inadequate to the demands made upon it. Take, for example, the statement (p. 50) that the eagle is never represented with a forked tail, and how is it possible, even in fancy, to reconcile it with the figures (pp. 37, 91, etc.), in which eagles are pictured with forked tails; or, how, by any exercise of the imagination, can we justify those references to Lapham in which, unintentionally no doubt, that writer is made to see (pp. 6, 38, 88) a moose, a serpent, and a game-drive, when he either says nothing of the sort, or so qualifies his assertion as to make it comparatively useless in an investigation which is or ought to be based on facts? But enough of this. From what has been said, a good idea can be formed of our author's peculiar method of work; and if we have dwelt upon it longer than its importance merited, it was because this portion of the work was chiefly descriptive, and it seemed probable that here, if anywhere, a careful observer might be expected to avoid inconsistencies and reckless assertions even if he did not attain accuracy.

Of the various purposes for which these mounds are said to have been erected, of their hidden significance, or of the motives, religious and otherwise, which are supposed to have actuated their builders, we have not the space to speak. Fortunately, however, the loss from this cause cannot be great, as these are matters about which nothing definite is known. Anything, therefore, that we might say would be more or less speculative, and hence of but little value in an investigation of this character. That some of these mounds may have been intended as clan emblems is possible, and so, also, it is possible that serpent worship, in some form, may have existed among the people who built them; but that they manifest (p. 96) "a strange mixture of material symbolism, of religious tradition, of tribal custom, and of wild life," are subjects about which we certainly know nothing, and after a somewhat careful examination of our author's utterances upon these and kindred topics, we do not find that he is much wiser. Theories he gives us, any number of them, and some of his statements are very positive upon matters that are supposed to be beyond the reach of human effort; but the evidence to sustain them is often lacking, and even in those cases in which facts are brought forward to support his positions they are not always to the point. In an investigation of this sort, we need not remind him, facts are wanted, not speculations, and those facts, to be of any weight, must be relevant.

In conclusion, we may be permitted to say that we do not object to the inference that these mounds were, in all probability, the work of some one of the Dakota tribes (pp. 249, 289, 297), "presumably the Winnebagos." So far as we know anything about the matter, there is no reason why they might not have built them, though we do not see how this statement can be reconciled with the fact (p. 133), if it be a fact, that "the effigy-builders possessed a different cultus" from the modern Indians, and that while we should perhaps call them Indians, "they were Indians of an unknown tribe." The two statements conflict, and it requires a stronger imagination than we happen to possess to bring them into harmony. Such inconsistencies, unfortunately, are only too frequent, and they make it difficult to take this book seriously.

Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, D.D., and History of St. George's Church, New York, to the close of his Rectorship. Compiled by his son, Charles Rockland Tyng. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1890.

MR. TYNG'S loyal and affectionate record of his father's life is in two parts. The first, comprising eight chapters, is mainly autobiographical—the first three chapters purely so; the others, with additional notes, explanatory and illustrative. While the second part does not disappoint the expectations which it properly excites, it is much less interesting in its manner than the autobiographical portions of the preceding chapters. These give us first an over-dose of family history, from which it appears that Dr. Tyng was an Episcopalian by long ancestral right; indeed, that he was more Episcopalian than Tyng by native right, his father's name having been Dudley Atkins till it was changed to meet the wishes and receive the doubtful inheritance of the last of the Tyngs in Tyngsborough, Mass. He was a direct descendant of Gov. Dudley of Massachusetts, and on his mother's side from Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem, whence, possibly, an evangelical strain of blood tempering that from the paternal side. The century was exactly two months old when he was born in Newburyport, Mass. When eleven years old, he went to Phillips Andover Academy, and got no learning, but much piety from the proximity of the Theological Seminary. Here was the first not merely conjectural influence working him to an evangelical temper. Between meetings on Fast Day, 1812, he engaged in an impromptu prayer-meeting with five other students, and all six became distinguished clergymen. This shows the quality of his environment. In 1814 a sermon by Dr. Gardiner Spring, then preaching in Newburyport, confirmed the Andover impression.

He graduated from Harvard College in 1817, in the class which started Caleb Cushing on his dubious career, and which also gave us the late George Bancroft. A brief period of commercial life followed his graduation, in the course of which he was converted in the instantaneous manner than which Wesley recognized no other. He studied theology with Bishop Griswold of Connecticut, whose temper was so evangelical that he had prayer-meetings, then a daring novelty in the Episcopal Church. Thus steadily impressed, young Tyng entered the ministry in full possession of those Low Church principles which dominated his career. Theologically he was not a good Episcopalian, for his theology was always Calvinistic, not Arminian; finding its centre not in the doctrine of the Incarnation, but in the doctrine of the Atonement. He was a conspicuous representative of a religious tendency foreign to the natural bent of his church, and

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he fought for it a losing battle. There are less to do it reverence every year.

His first of many controversies—he was in hot water off and on his whole life through—was in Georgetown, D. C., with his first bishop to whom his Calvinism was an abomination. His next settlement, in Prince George's County, Md., was the most interesting of the five in his succession. He had not, as he reckoned, a Christian in his congregation. He preached in taverns, and his texts were "straight out from the shoulder" every time: "The show of their countenance doth witness against them"; "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning to follow after strong drink," and so on. From 1829 to 1834 he was Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, and from 1834 to 1845 of the Church of the Epiphany in the same city, and here he had his first phenomenal successes in preaching and church organization. In the Onderdonk controversy he was with the Pennsylvania Bishop until it became a question of his personal character, but against the brother in the New York bishopric throughout, not believing Onderdonk guilty, but holding that his influence for good was gone. But it is difficult to resist the impression that Dr. Tyng had ever a keener scent for theological than for moral obliquity. In Philadelphia began his passionate interest in Sunday-schools—another example of his fondness for the methods of the unepiscopal churches and his desire to engraft them on his own.

In the second part of the biography, we have first a history of St. George's Church, New York, with which, after 1845, Dr. Tyng was identified for the remainder of his life. Dr. Milnor had made it a fit garden for his successor's Calvinistic seed. Here Dr. Tyng found full scope for his organizing force and skill. In numbers and financial strength the church became a fine and proud success under his administration. This, as felicitously expressed by his eulogist, was that of a "judicious autocrat." The biographer is at pains to show that his father was not an extremist in his anti-slavery views. The wonder is that he should ever have been thought so—for he was a colonizationist after the Fugitive-Slave Law—until we remember that one did not have to be extreme to be considered so in the days of that iniquity. When the war-time came, Dr. Tyng was quick enough to draw the moral of emancipation. Later he was a strenuous fighter against the ritualist party and for Episcopalian "liberty of prophesying" in non-episcopal churches. Of the free intellect he had no conception, and for its activity nothing but vehement denunciation. The dogmas of the Church were for him infallible truth, and any doubt of them was sin.

Dying September 3, 1885, he lived long enough, before the clouding of his intellect, to see the growth of tendencies which to his mind were full of evil promise. He had other cause for sadness in the waning of his great success. When his mind was much enfeebled, his automatism, as the new psychologists would say, was still equal to the most copious extemporaneous prayer. Take him for all in all, there is small chance that we shall see his like again in his Church, which is getting further every year from his ideal. There is not a suggestion of his vigorous and effective personality in the frontispiece engraving, which presents a face of the most approved ecclesiastical inanity.

Grundzüge der Bibliothekslehre, mit bibliographischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen. Neubearbeitung von Petzholdts Katechismus der Bibliothekslehre von Arnim Gräsel. Leipzig: J. J. Weber. 1890. 12mo, pp. xii., 424.

THE first edition of Petzholdt's 'Katechismus' was published in 1856, the third (substantially unaltered) edition in 1877. His grasp of the subject and the general correctness of his views are best evinced by the large part of the original book which Dr. Gräsel has been able to retain. This new revision is thorough, and the editor has brought the work up fully abreast of the latest ideas. The catechistic form has been abandoned; the material has been rearranged, partly rewritten, and greatly augmented; notes have been added epitomizing the opinions of the most important dissenters from the conclusions which Dr. Gräsel himself adopts, and citing with praiseworthy care and fulness the literature upon each point discussed. American librarians cannot fail to be gratified at the just preponderance, among these citations, of references to the *Library Journal*. It was scarcely to be expected that a German, writing in and for German conditions, would adopt every device approved by the experience of American libraries; but dissent does not imply disapproval—on the contrary, a chief merit of the book lies in the author's constant recognition of the fact that the system found best for one library may not be at all good for another.

In the introduction, Dr. Gräsel defines his subject and describes its principal literature, both books and periodicals. The text he divides into two main parts: first, of the building, personnel, and finances; second, of the books. The first part occupies eighty-five pages and consists of three chapters, the longest being devoted to the much controverted subject of buildings. The second part, which extends to 230 pages, is also divided into three chapters. The first chapter considers the establishment of the library, the cataloguing, the shelf-arrangement and numbering, and the care of the books. The second chapter treats of the increase of the collection, *i. e*, the nature and sources of accessions, the accessions-list, binding, and the incorporation of accessions among the books already assembled; the third chapter, the use of the books, divided into General rules for readers, Reference use, Lending use. The text is followed by seventy pages of notes in fine type and eleven pages of index.

In such a mass of details we can glance at a few only of the more important. The remarks on buildings are certainly not novel; it is the same sad story of cross-purposes, failure of the architect to consider the purposes of the library, failure of the librarian to understand that there are some architectural impossibilities and may easily be many architectural monstrosities; for America, one may add, failure of trustees to use patience or even decent consideration towards either party. Still, it is interesting to find that the practical defects which Mr. Poole, for instance, finds in most of our library buildings, including some of the most splendid, have also come to light, or rather to darkness, in many of the architectural palaces that house Continental libraries. Any one who has tried to read in the twilight that reigns at high noon in many alcoves at Wolfenbüttel or Munich will heartily echo these sentiments:

"In building stalls for horses and cattle, one seldom forgets to consider whether location and plan are sufficiently adapted to the ends for which the building is intended, and whether in its arrangement proper attention has been paid to the needs of its future inhabitant, the cherished cow; why is it not reasonable to ask that the same question should receive equal attention in planning for a library building the milch cows' stall to which thousands of thirsty scholars resort?"

Cataloguing is discussed at some length. No specific rules are given, but the writer attempts to state those fundamental principles upon which the cataloguer in any library, by paying due regard to its peculiarities, should be able to frame a working code. He pronounces in favor of an alphabetical author-catalogue, with full, perhaps too full, titles, and a briefer systematic subject-catalogue. The dictionary catalogue is an inadequate substitute for these two, and a third catalogue, alphabetical by subjects, a luxury. He would gladly see the use of manuscript catalogues by readers more generally allowed than is common in Germany, but cannot convince himself that it is possible to grant all readers that free use of manuscript catalogues which has been permitted for years not only in the principal libraries of America, but also in the British Museum. The system of shelf-classification he considers a matter to be settled by each library for itself. Still, he admits that general systems, while they cannot be expected to fit equally well the few symmetrical collections and the many deformed, may nevertheless offer valuable suggestions to a librarian who is attempting to solve his own concrete problem.

On the whole the 'Grundzüge,' although they form more properly a new book than the revision of an old one, offer few novelties. Yet it is possible, without unfairness to several other good books, to regard Dr. Gräsel's as the most important single publication on library economy since the issue of the Bureau of Education's special report on 'Public Libraries in the United States.' The intervening fifteen years have seen the establishment of the American Library Association and the Library Association of the United Kingdom, each publishing a successful journal, and the birth of the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, the *Bulletin des Bibliothèques et des Archives*, the *Rivista delle Biblioteche*, and the *Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Anticuarios*. A great number of valuable observations have been made and some useful conclusions reached. Dr. Gräsel has skilfully summarized the most important of them, and at the same time, by means of his bibliographical notes, has furnished a useful index to the most important papers on different parts of library economy available either in the technical periodicals or elsewhere.

Les Communes françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs. Par Achille Luchaire. Paris: Hachette & Cie. 1890.

SINCE the appearance of Carl Hegel's epoch-making work, a great number of studies have appeared upon the origin of the mediæval municipalities and their constitutional forms, but there has been need of some trustworthy work, not written to advance any particular theory, but presenting the best results of recent investigations and giving a general view of the whole movement. This need, so far as France is concerned, has now been met by this volume of 300 pages from the distinguished historian of French institutions. The book does not present the results of special studies of the author's, but aims to present his interpretation of all recent investigations in a connected account of the communal movement as a whole.

On the question of origin, the author holds that no trustworthy evidence has been presented for the Roman theory, and that not

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much better can be said for the German. The essential element of the commune as an institution—the confederation formed by the inhabitants under the guarantee of a mutual oath—is an application of the common mediæval practice of association for all sorts of objects, a practice which is neither exclusively German nor Roman in its origin, but universal. In some cases, at least, the commune appears as only a transformation of some one of these local religious or commercial associations into a wider association of the whole body of citizens. The communal revolution itself grows, like all such movements in history, out of a need of the time—the need of the people to protect themselves against feudal exactions.

An especial feature of the book is the clearness with which the author presents this idea, the communal movement as an outgrowth of feudalism, analogous to the contemporary and later peasants' revolts. The whole process is regulated and controlled by the forms and ideas of feudalism. The commune, when successfully established, becomes in its corporate capacity a feudal person, with all the rights and duties implied in that idea. The territory of the commune is transformed from territory directly subject to the suzerain into a sub-fief, as in any other case of subinfeudation, and the city through its representative offers the vassal's oath and receives the oath of its lord. In this capacity of feudal person the commune has its right of local legislation, of independent jurisdiction, and of maintaining an armed force, and it may also in this capacity have vassals of its own. Of course, in every case this feudal position is not perfectly realized, but the tendency is always towards this result.

In showing, however, the origin of the general impulse to the formation of communes, one has not explained the origin of the special communal institutions, and here there is yet large room for investigation. It seems clear that many of these institutions are of much earlier origin, and are adapted by the commune to its new needs. The *échevins* descend, without doubt, from the *scabini* of the Frankish county organization. Here it may be possible in the case of some cities to trace a Roman influence upon single institutions, though it must be carefully remembered that the continued use of a name does not indicate in the least the continuance of the institution. In general, it must be kept in mind that what characterizes feudal society as a whole is also a characteristic of the communal side of it—that forms of institutions and phases of right and privilege differed widely in different localities. This is, of course, still more the case when we step outside the bounds of the nation; and a work similar to this on the German cities would show decided variations from the French type.

Mrs. Thrale, afterwards Mrs. Piozzi: A sketch of her life, and passages from her diaries, letters, and other writings. Edited by L. B. Seeley, with nine illustrations after Hogarth, Reynolds, Zoffany, and others. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1891.

MR. SEELEY has a more hackneyed subject to deal with in this volume than in his similar popular and pleasing accounts of Horace Walpole and Fanny Burney, but he succeeds as well as the nature of the case allows in interesting his reader in Mrs. Thrale's side of Johnson's association with her. The story, so far as Johnson is concerned, is too well known to permit of any freshness; the most that Mr. Seeley can attempt is to show how this friendship affected Mrs. Thrale's happiness, what kindness and patience she exercised towards her guest, and how well she bore herself at the end, when Johnson wrote that violent letter to her with regard to the marriage with Piozzi. On the whole, we think Mrs. Thrale gains the more her circumstances are looked into. She was mated, not by a love-match, with a husband whose treatment of her was certainly lacking at times in respect and delicacy, and she served his interests and tastes with entire fidelity; she did not fail in the obligations which the kindness of the house alone imposed on her, towards Baretti or Johnson, and both of them were inmates of trying temperaments and habits. She was both intelligent in literary conversation and able in financial affairs, so that she assisted her husband in his business difficulties as much as in entertainment to his friends. When Mr. Thrale died, her own nature asserted itself more independently, and finally she married the man she loved, Piozzi; and because he was an Italian and a musician the world was scandalized, her old friends made brutal attacks on her, the press laughed at her, and altogether she was made to suffer whatever society can invent in the way of annoyance in such a case. The story of her life with Piozzi, her various books, and her long social career after her return to London, is the freshest portion of the volume; and whether Piozzi or herself be looked at, the result is wholly honorable to them. She owes her remembrance, of course, to her relation with Johnson, but she was herself a remarkable woman, of very diversified talent, full of energy and feeling, and successful in what she undertook. Mr. Seeley has brought out her qualities admirably, using old material, it is true, but revamping it; and he has added, as usual, a number of admirable portraits of Reynolds, Baretti, Garrick, and others which are an ornament to the book.

The Philosophy of Fiction in Literature: An Essay. By Daniel Greenleaf Thompson. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

MR. THOMPSON writes in a style half-way between the philosophical and the literary upon the well-beaten topic of the right method of fiction. He asks wherein the interest of a novel lies, and then proceeds to show what part in its composition is taken by the merely reproductive and the merely creative faculties of the mind. He summarizes the naturalist theory as expressed by Zola and Guy de Maupassant, and illustrates his position from the critical writing of the latest French and English essayists; and at the end concludes that the idealists have the best of the argument—largely because the realists are found to use ideal methods to a certain degree. There is nothing very novel in the discussion, and perhaps attention would not be attracted by it were it not that, toward the close, the author enters on the question of the propriety of fiction including in its survey the erotic motives. His view is conservative, but at the same time sufficiently frank, and in our judgment more than sufficiently tolerant. He says that American fiction, however we may blind our eyes to the fact, has already lost the purity that once characterized it; and while he does not confuse his mind with any illusion as to the real ground of the popularity of these works of our later days, he seems disposed to accept the facts of popular taste and to allow more latitude of subject and treatment of what has been hitherto tabooed among respectable readers. We note the expression of these opinions, in a work professedly philosophical and openly moral in its claims, as a sign of the drift of the times. That many novels hitherto considered immoral are in circulation among us, though little noticed by the press, is an open fact. The justification of them by criticism is yet to come, and to this point the author has not arrived; but the tone of his remarks is an indication of the extent to which old standards are becoming relaxed, and, if we are not at fault, this relaxation is in reality much greater in the minds of the reading public than has yet appeared in the printed expression of literary opinion. The influence of French criticism, following French novels, may perhaps account for Mr. Thompson's views.

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